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**PARENTAL ATTITUDES AND EXPECTATIONS TOWARD CHILDREARING
AND FILIAL PIETY: HARMONY AND CONFLICT BETWEEN TWO
GENERATIONS AMONG TAIWANESE FAMILIES**

A Dissertation Presented

by

SHAN-LEE LIU

**Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of**

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

September 1994

Education

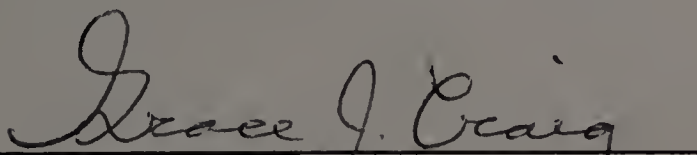
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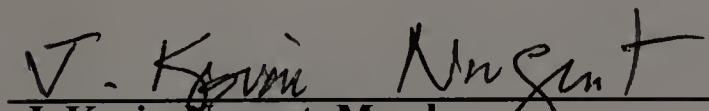
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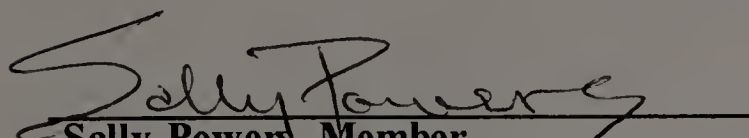
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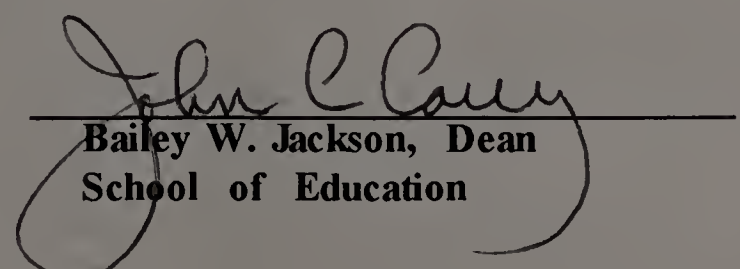
SHAN-LEE LIU

Approved as to style and content by:


Grace J. Craig, Chair


J. Kevin Nugent, Member


Sally Powers, Member


Bailey W. Jackson, Dean
School of Education

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I dedicate this dissertation to my parents,

Kun-Chung Liu & Yu-Chih Chen,

and to my family

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I would like to thank Professor Grace J. Craig, the chairperson of this dissertation, with my sincere gratitude. Her support and encouragement pull me through all those difficult stages personally and professionally. Being a person living across two cultures poses many challenges for me. Professor Craig not only understands the frustration I have but also helps me overcome many obstacles. All the cheer and accomplishment of this study will be dedicated to her.

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ABSTRACT

PARENTAL ATTITUDES AND EXPECTATIONS TOWARD CHILDREARING AND FILIAL PIETY: HARMONY AND CONFLICT BETWEEN TWO GENERATIONS AMONG TAIWANESE FAMILIES

SEPTEMBER 1994

SHAN-LEE LIU, B.S., SOOCHOW UNIVERSITY

M.Ed., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST

Ed.D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST

Directed by: Professor Grace J. Craig

✎ Filial piety has been a central concept in guiding Chinese thought on childrearing. Unfortunately, the U. S. research literature has used instruments that do not give adequate attention to this concept. The purpose of this study was to examine harmony and conflict between generations among Taiwanese families both in Taiwan and in the United States. In this study, two key variables, parental attitudes toward childrearing and toward filial piety, were chosen. Parental survey was conducted both in Taiwan and in the United States regarding these two variables. The Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale, designed by Chinese researchers David Y. F. Ho and his colleague were selected as the measuring instruments. In Kaohsiung, Taiwan, paternal grandfathers and fathers of the six-year-old boys as well as maternal grandmothers and mothers of the six-year-old girls were investigated. In Massachusetts, U. S. A, fathers of the six-year-old boys as well as mothers of the six-year-old girls from Taiwanese families were surveyed. A total of 407

copies from the Taiwanese sample and 29 copies from the US sample was collected. Parental attitudes toward the Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale were highly correlated. Significant trends were indicated between generations toward the two scales. Differences of means on both scales among maternal grandmothers, mothers in the Taiwanese sample and Taiwanese mothers in the US sample were highly significant. Attitudes toward the Filial Piety Scale between grandparents and parents in the Taiwanese sample was significantly different. Differences of means on the two scales between parents in the Taiwanese sample and Taiwanese parents in the US sample were also significant. Education was highly correlated negatively with respondents' attitudes toward the two scales except for maternal grandmothers in the Taiwanese sample. Associations between family structure, occupation or religion and attitudes toward the two scales for the Taiwanese sample were also discussed.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

 All over the world, people do their best to rear and educate their next generation, although the methods they use and the problems they face differ from group to group. Parents always hope that their children will grow up to be good persons and live a better life. At the same time, parents' childrearing attitudes and expectations as well as the essential values they try to pass from generation to generation are changing over time and place.

The study of parental attitudes and expectations toward childrearing among Taiwanese families poses many challenges. What are the essential elements which Taiwanese parents continue to cultivate in their children from generation to generation? How much have these childrearing attitudes and expectations been changed over time and place among Taiwanese families? How can we understand the important meaning of "filial piety" among contemporary Taiwanese? Or, what are the relationships between parental attitudes and expectations toward childrearing and toward filial piety within and between generations among Taiwanese families in different communities?

When discussing parental childrearing attitudes and expectations among Chinese populations within the context of Chinese culture, researchers have been interested in several key areas. For example, David Y. F. Ho and his colleague in the Department of Psychology, University of Hong Kong, have studied the continuity and variation in Chinese patterns of socialization for several years (Ho, 1972, 1973, 1981, 1986, 1987, 1989; Ho & Kang, 1984). As a cultural anthropologist at the Institute of Culture and Communication, East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii, David Y. H. Wu (1966, 1968, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1985a, 1985b, 1988) has investigated Chinese childtraining in several overseas Chinese communities, and in Taiwan as well as in mainland China, for more than two decades. In Taiwan, a number of anthropologists, including Yih-Yuan Li, Ying-Chang Chuang and several others, have tried to observe and record Taiwanese people's changing family structure, ritual behavior and kinship by conducting several case studies among Taiwanese families in rural Taiwan (Li, 1975, 1976, 1985, 1989; Chuang, 1971, 1973, 1976, 1981; Li & Chuang, 1987). From a foreign scholar's perspective, anthropologist Margery Wolf (1968, 1970, 1972, 1985, 1992; Wolf & Witke, 1975) has provided her view from more than twenty years of field work and investigation of Chinese childtraining methods and family relations in a single family - the house of Lim, and at Hokkien-speaking villages in rural Taiwan. Recently, she has examined women's status, gender anthropology and feminism in Chinese society both in Taiwan and in China. Also psychological anthropologist F.L.K. Hsu (1961, 1965, 1967, 1971) has investigated the relationships between Chinese culture and kinship in Yunnan, southwest China. In addition, researchers C. W. Su (1967, 1969, 1975a, 1975b, 1976; Su, Lu &

Chen, 1979) at Taiwan Normal University and C. P. Chu (1973, 1974, 1975) at National Taiwan University have tried to highlight the relationships between parental childrearing practices and children's behavior in some of their studies. Finally, there are several groups of researchers all over the world who are interested in cross-cultural comparisons of Chinese and other cultural groups' childrearing patterns and socialization, including L. C. Huang and M. B. Harris (Huang & Harris, 1973; Huang, 1974), S. F. Kriger and W. H. Kroes (1972), M. Kurokawa (1969), D. Ryback, A. L. Sanders, J. Lorentz and M. Koestenblatt (1980), L. W. Hoffman (1987, 1988), as well as C. Y. Lin and V. R. Fu (1990).

In this study, the focus was on intergenerational comparisons between grandparents and parents with respect to their attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety. A survey was conducted among Taiwanese families with six-year-old children both in Massachusetts, U. S. A. and in Kaohsiung, Taiwan. The Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale developed by David Y. F. Ho and his colleague (Ho & Lee, 1974; Ho & Kang, 1984) were adapted for the first part of this survey. In addition, a questionnaire for collecting information on parental beliefs and expectations concerning childrearing and filial piety was designed by the author. Comparisons between generations among Taiwanese families in Taiwan and those in the United States with regard to their attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety were examined. Relationships between parental attitudes toward childrearing and toward filial piety within each generation among Taiwanese families both in Taiwan and in the United States were discussed. Associations

between parents' education, family structure, occupation or religion and their attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety were also tested.

1.2 Statement of the problem

In the research literature, the strength of "family ties" has been a central theme regarding Chinese childrearing. David Y. H. Wu emphasized this important value while studying childtraining in an overseas Chinese community, Papua New Guinea. He described the observed phenomena of this Chinese cultural character that:

A familiar behavioral mode is their group-oriented conduct. They have been successful in commercial enterprises that have been undertaken with partners, especially kin . . . Another familiar behavioral characteristic of this overseas community is the existence of long-lasting ties between parents and children and the constant social involvement throughout an individual's lifetime with family members and other kin. (1985, pp. 114-115)

These ties continue within a family, although physical closeness and loyalty among family members in different Chinese communities may be weakened by the changing size and structure of a family; by a rapidly modernizing and urbanizing society; by increasing mobilization and migration of people; or, by acculturation with different cultures and ideologies. The values, behaviors and characteristics of a Chinese family still play an important role over time and place.

Scholars of the Chinese culture have noticed that the way the Chinese construct their relationships toward family members is quite different from those of westerners. Parents are the center of a Chinese family for generations. Instead of discussing the husband-wife relationships, J. Hsu (1985) emphasized the interactions between generations within a Chinese family that:

It is hard to apply the Western concept of coalition in the Chinese family situation. In the western family, coalition is based on dyadic relationships with great emphasis on the husband-wife dyad. In the Chinese family, the spousal relationship is deemed secondary to the parent-child relationship; and within the parent-child relationship, the mother-child relationship is the closest. (pp. 100-101; Hsu & Tseng, 1974)

When discussing the power structure within a traditional Chinese family, Hsu (1985) stated that:

In the traditional Chinese family system, the distribution of power is based on generation, age, and gender. In this system, the eldest man of the top generation usually has the ultimate power to make final decisions regarding important matter. (p. 98)

In other words, the structure within a traditional Chinese family basically is a male-dominant hierarchy system. The power within a family is displayed in an authoritarian way. Family members need to respect the elders and follow their rules. As parents, the responsibility of filial piety toward the last generation have to be taken seriously in order to display the same obligation toward the next generation. Chinese parents rear children by expecting them to observe and absorb the ways filial piety takes

place in their everyday life. Therefore, when getting older, a similar obligation can be depended on from their adult children. Researchers who did not take these important characteristics like Chinese family structure or filial piety into account when conducting studies regarding childrearing among Chinese populations, or cross-culturally, often raise a lot of questions and face fundamental problems.

Even Chinese scholars sometimes ignored these essential characteristics when designing their research. Instead, they borrowed the concepts from other cultures like "independence", "individualism", or "creativity". While trying to apply these ideas to studies within a Chinese cultural context, researchers often find out that they had put themselves into a much more complex and confused situation than they expected. Thus, in this study, when studying parental attitudes toward childrearing among Taiwanese families, the focus was on the similarities and differences between generations within a family. In addition, parental attitudes toward filial piety was selected as the second key variable while studying childrearing among Taiwanese families.

After many years of observation and investigation at several Hokkien-speaking villages near Taipei, Taiwan, M. Wolf (1970) believed that "child-training practices will change more slowly than other aspects of culture". She continued to state that these childrearing "practices among the Chinese are not particularly open to western influences and are likely to accurately reflect traditional goals and values" (p. 39). Thus, it is important to study the continuity of parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety

among Taiwanese families from generation to generation as well as in different places. Nevertheless, D. Y. H. Ho and T. K. Kang (1984) argued that, in an intergenerational comparison of childrearing practice in Hong Kong, "greater departures from the traditional [childrearing] patterns are in evidence among the younger, and among the urbanized, better educated Chinese" (p. 1004). Thus, it was equally important to measure parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety among Taiwanese family within each generation while considering factors like age, educational level, social economic status and residence. In addition, by comparing grandparents' and parents' attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety among Taiwanese families, the continuity versus change of Chinese childrearing and filial piety in different places can be examined. Before drawing inferences on the harmony and conflict between generations regarding parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety among Taiwanese families, a foundation of systematic research and empirical data was needed in this area.

1.3 Purpose of this study

The purpose of this study was to examine harmony and conflict between two generations among Taiwanese families both in Taiwan and in the United States. Following were the three major phases for this purpose:

First, by selecting two key variables - parental attitudes toward childrearing and toward filial piety among Taiwanese families, the relationships between these two

variables within each generation were examined in developmental perspectives within Chinese cultural context. A survey was designed for collecting quantitative data regarding the two dependent variables. There are three major sections in this survey. First of all, two attitudinal scales - the Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale were included for measuring parental attitudes toward childrearing and toward filial piety (Ho & Lee, 1974, pp. 305-306; Ho & Kang, 1984, pp. 1014-1016). Secondly, a parental questionnaire was designed by the author to obtain information on childrearing and filial piety. Finally, a check list was presented to gather subjects' background information.

Second, intergenerational comparisons between paternal grandfathers and fathers as well as between maternal grandmothers and mothers were conducted regarding the two key variables. Taiwanese families with six-year-old boys were surveyed for the paternal grandfathers and the fathers. Families with six-year-old girls were investigated for the maternal grandmothers and the mothers. Using the same survey as a measuring instrument for comparisons, the similarities and dissimilarities between generations of parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety among Taiwanese families were examined from both male and female perspectives.

Third, for measuring the continuity and variation of the two key variables across different sociocultural environment, two populations were chosen in this study. One was the families with six-year-old children living in the Kaohsiung city area, one of the two municipalities in Taiwan. The other was the Taiwanese families residing in eastern

Massachusetts, U. S. A. By using the same survey as a measuring instrument for the degree of acculturation, the similarities and differences of parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety among Taiwanese families in Taiwan and in the United States were investigated.

Generally speaking, by using the Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale as research instruments in this study, parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety among Taiwanese families both in Taiwan and in the United States were examined. Relationships between parental attitudes toward the two Scales were tested. Generational comparisons between paternal grandfathers and fathers as well as maternal grandmothers and mothers regarding their attitudes toward the two Scales were conducted. In addition, parental attitudes toward the two Scales between Taiwanese families in Taiwan and in the United States were also compared. Therefore, the harmony and conflict between generations among contemporary Taiwanese families regarding parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety were examined. By conducting a survey among Taiwanese families both in Taiwan and in the United States, the degree of acculturation regarding parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety were also investigated.

1.4 Overview of the design

In the design of this study, two key variables - parental attitudes toward childrearing and toward filial piety - were chosen. Within a Taiwanese family, attitudes

toward childrearing and filial piety are the potential foundation for conflict. In this study, a survey was conducted among Taiwanese families both in Taiwan and in the United States. Traditionally, a son need to follow the principle of his father; a daughter ought to succeed in the model of her mother. As a parent, childrearing and filial piety are the two lifelong tasks in a Taiwanese family. In this study, paternal grandfathers and fathers of six-year-old boys as well as maternal grandmothers and mothers of six-year-old girls among Taiwanese families in Kaohsiung, Taiwan were surveyed. The similarities and dissimilarities between generations among Taiwanese families regarding parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety were examined. At a child's age six, the relationships between a parent's attitudes toward childrearing and those toward filial piety were also discussed. Further, fathers of six-year-old boys and mothers of six-year-old girls among Taiwanese families in Massachusetts, U. S. A. were surveyed. The degrees of acculturation regarding parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety among contemporary Taiwanese families both in Taiwan and in the United States were tested.

In this study, a survey was designed for measuring the two key variables between generations of Taiwanese families. Two attitudinal scales - the Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale - were adopted. Both the CT Scale and the FP Scale were developed by Chinese scholars D. Y. F. Ho and his colleague (Ho & Lee, 1974, pp. 305-306; Ho & Kang, 1984, pp. 1014-1016). The two scales were originally written in Chinese for testing among Chinese samples. The FP Scale had been first developed by D. Y. F. Ho and L. Y. Lee for investigating 135 teachers' attitudes toward authoritarianism and filial

piety in Taiwan (Ho & Lee, 1974, pp. 305-306). Later, in Hong Kong, the revised FP Scale along with the CT Scale were developed by D. Y. F. Ho and T. K. Kang for an intergenerational comparison regarding the childrearing attitudes of twenty grandfather-father pairs (Ho & Kang, 1984, study 2, pp.1007-1010). In this study, the revised Filial Piety Scale and the Child Training Scale were used. By analyzing the data collected from these two Likert scales, parental attitudes toward childrearing and toward filial piety were examined within and between each generation among Taiwanese families. Further, by comparing the results from these two scales among Taiwanese families both in Taiwan and in the United States, the similarities and differences regarding the two key variables were also investigated.


A Parental Questionnaire was also designed by the author for gathering information regarding parental beliefs and expectations toward childrearing and filial piety. Responses to each item of this questionnaire were categorized into computable data. In this questionnaire, two questions were adapted from the Parental Attitudes and Beliefs Questionnaire originally written in Chinese and developed by Chinese researchers D. Y. F. Ho and T. K. Kang at University of Hong Kong (Ho & Kang, 1984, p. 1008). Along with the other four questions developed by the author, information regarding childrearing were gathered. In addition, two questions of the Filial Attitudes and Behavior Scale (Yu, 1987, p. 38 & pp. 43-44) designed by Chinese researchers D. H. Yu and associates in Taiwan were revised. Finally, two other questions were added by the author regarding filial piety.

A checklist was also designed by the author for gathering background information of the respondents in this survey. In this section, both Taiwanese parents' and grandparents' background information such as age, occupation, education, birth order, family structure, income, religion, place and length of residence, number and sex of children, as well as marital status, health condition, language, the preservation of ancestor worship, the presence of special events or stresses in life were collected. Relationships between the two key dependent variables and some of the independent variables of this study were also examined.

1.5 Significance of this study

In this study, several steps had been taken to extend existing knowledge in this area. First, by selecting parental attitudes toward childrearing and toward filial piety as the two key variables in this study, relationships between Chinese childrearing and filial piety were further examined among contemporary Taiwanese families. The essential values of childrearing which Taiwanese parents kept holding and passing from generation to generation were investigated. The characteristics of filial piety which Taiwanese parents modified in order to adjusted themselves to the changing environment were discussed. Empirical data regarding parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety among contemporary Taiwanese families were provided. Relationships between parental attitudes toward childrearing and toward filial piety among Taiwanese families were also tested.

Second, a survey including two attitudinal scales designed by Chinese researchers, a parental questionnaire and a background checklist developed by the author was conducted in this study. Computable data regarding parental attitudes toward childrearing and toward filial piety were collected. The Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale were developed by Chinese researchers David Y. F. Ho and his colleague. In addition, these two attitudinal scales were originally written in Chinese. Instead of adopting those European- or American-centered scales or questionnaires, a Chinese-styled survey was designed by the author for measuring contemporary Taiwanese parents' attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety.

 Third, in this study, intergenerational comparisons between paternal grandfathers and fathers as well as maternal grandmothers and mothers regarding their attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety among Taiwanese families were conducted. Inspired by a childrearing study for the twenty pairs of grandfathers and fathers in Hong Kong (Ho & Kang, 1984, study 2, pp. 1007-1011), this study provided not only the male perspectives but also the female points of view. Ho and Kang (1984) stated in the end of their study that "It appears also that attitudes toward filial piety continue to play an important role in Chinese patterns of child training" (p. 1011). However, they did not conclude the same way for the maternal attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety due to the limitation of their research design. In this study, further steps were taken in this area. Both male and female perspectives were provided by comparing the two key variables between paternal grandfathers and fathers as well as between maternal grandmothers and mothers among

contemporary Taiwanese families. Traditionally, the mother was at the center of a Taiwanese family for childrearing, household work as well as the care for elder grandparents at home. The father was supposed to take the responsibilities for continuing the family line, honoring the ancestors and supporting the whole family financially. Nowadays, due to the different environmental factors like rapid social, political and economic development in Taiwan, the roles for males and females at the work place as well as at home are gradually changing. Researchers often detect that not only fathers but also mothers of Taiwanese families are redefining their attitudes toward traditional Chinese childrearing and filial piety (Yang, 1991; Yu, 1987, 1991a, 1991b). Secondly, in this study, not only the fathers' and mothers' attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety were examined, the paternal grandfathers' as well as the maternal grandmothers' points of view were also addressed. Traditionally, within a Chinese family, the oldest male in the top generation had the ultimate power for decision-making on important matters (Hsu, 1985, p. 98). However, it was argued that an aged woman in the top generation had more experience on handling day-to-day issues concerning childrearing and filial piety. Grandparents play decisive roles within a Taiwanese family regarding childrearing and filial piety. Empirical data for studying Taiwanese grandparents' points of view toward childrearing and filial piety was insufficient. In this study, both paternal grandfathers' and maternal grandmothers' attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety were examined. By using the same survey for both parents and grandparents, attitudes toward traditional Chinese childrearing and filial piety between generations among contemporary Taiwanese families were examined.

Fourth, field investigation or interview were the methods used for most of the research conducted in this area. Several researchers proposed that in a Chinese family, strict training of obedience and responsibility was applied to children at age six or seven (Ho & Kang, 1984; Li, 1970; Wolf, 1970; Wu, 1966). In this study, six-year-old boys' fathers and paternal grandfathers were surveyed. Meanwhile, six-year-old girls' mothers and maternal grandmothers were asked to fill out the same survey. By writing down their own feeling and thinking, parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety among Taiwanese families with at least one child at age six or above were examined.

Finally, by conducting this research among Taiwanese families in two different places - the greater Boston area of Massachusetts, U. S. A. and the Kaohsiung city, Taiwan, the similarities and dissimilarities of Taiwanese parents' attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety between the two populations were investigated. Influenced by different cultural values and environmental factors, traditional perception of Chinese childrearing and filial piety was seriously challenged. Immigrants often reevaluate their attitudes toward life in order to have a better adjustment for present environment. As Taiwanese parents, cultural ambivalence regarding attitudes toward the aged parents or the own children usually develop potential conflict between generations within an immigrant family (Lin, 1985; Yu, 1991). In this study, by conducting the same survey among overseas Taiwanese communities, the persistence of traditional Chinese culture as well as the acculturation of different cultures for contemporary Taiwanese parents regarding attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety were discussed.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this chapter, two different approaches to the related research literature and empirical studies are presented. At first, Chinese scholars including Ying-Chang Chuang in Taiwan, David Y. H. Wu in Hawaii, and David Y. F. Ho in Hong Kong as well as their research contribution in this field are introduced. Secondly, a review of literature regarding the two key variables in this study - parental attitudes toward childrearing and toward filial piety among Taiwanese families are presented. In the end, a summary of the review of key findings and a critique of current research in this area are addressed. Some implications for this study are also offered.

After reviewing the literature written both in Chinese and in English in this area, three Chinese researchers and their contribution to Chinese families were selected. First, anthropologist Ying-Chang Chuang at the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, and his field research with regard to the family structure, ritual behavior, and kinship in Taiwan are introduced. By providing the information on key family structure and function among Taiwanese families, Chuang offered an overview of family life between generations in rural Taiwan (1971, 1973, 1976, 1981; Hsieh & Chuang, 1985; Li & Chuang, 1987; Chuang et al., 1988). Secondly, David Y. H. Wu, a cultural anthropologist

at the Institute of Culture and Communication, East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii and his research are introduced. For more than two decades, Wu conducted a number of studies concerning Chinese childtraining in several Chinese communities including Taiwan, Hong Kong, China and the United States (1966, 1968, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1985a, 1985b, 1988; Tseng & Wu, 1985; Tobin, Wu & Davidson, 1989). By studying childrearing attitudes and behavior patterns in different geopolitical locations, Wu presented a diverse version with respect to the continuity versus change of Chinese childtraining under the impact of traditional Chinese culture as well as environmental factors. Another key researcher introduced in this study is David Y. F. Ho, a Chinese psychiatrist at the Department of Psychology, University of Hong Kong. Over the past twenty years, Ho conducted a number of research with regard to the continuity versus change of Chinese patterns of socialization among Chinese families in Hong Kong, Taiwan and China (Ho, 1972, 1973, 1974a, 1974b, 1974c, 1976, 1979c, 1979d, 1981a, 1981b, 1986, 1989). In one of his latest studies, by using a Chinese family instead of an individual as a research unit, intergenerational comparisons between paternal grandfathers and fathers concerning Chinese childrearing and filial piety were closely examined (Ho & Kang, 1984, study 2). Two Chinese attitudinal scales - the Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale - were also developed by Ho and his colleague (Ho & Lee, 1974, pp. 305-306; Ho & Kang, 1984, pp. 1014-1016). Relationships between paternal attitudes toward childrearing and toward filial piety among Chinese families in Hong Kong were also addressed (Ho & Kang, 1984, Study 2).

In the second section of this chapter, a review of the key findings and research literature in terms of the significance to Chinese childrearing and filial piety are introduced. In addition, literature in this area regarding age and sex of children as well as parents, occupation and education of both parents, family structure and rural-urban residence, as well as the influence of traditional Chinese culture and environmental factors on Taiwanese families are also addressed. Finally, a summary and a critique of current research in this area are offered. Some implications for this study are also presented.

2.1 Relevant contribution and researchers

Three Chinese researchers making key contributions to this area are introduced in this section. At first, the field investigations conducted by ethnologist Ying-Chang Chuang among families in rural Taiwan are presented. Secondly, the childtraining studies conducted by cultural anthropologist David Y. H. Wu among several Chinese communities are also reviewed. Finally, of equal importance, a number of studies in relation to Chinese patterns of socialization conducted by psychiatrist David Y. F. Ho among Chinese families are also addressed.

2.1.1 Ying-Chang Chuang and his field investigation in rural Taiwan

Quite clearly, early division of the family allows the younger generation the freedom to develop their potentialities. Under these circumstance, for the traditional extended family structure to persist, it must undergo some change in the direction of the rotating-eating system, parental authority has faced a serious challenge (Chuang, 1981, Abstract).

Over the past twenty years, from an insider's point of view, ethnologist Ying-Chang Chuang conducted several field investigation among local families in rural Taiwan. Although most of his articles and books were written in Chinese, a few of those have English abstracts. Vivid observation and detailed description concerning the changing structure and function of the families, ritual behavior and kinship in Taiwan were presented (1971, 1972, 1973, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1981, 1985; Hsieh & Chuang, 1985; Li & Chuang, 1987; Chuang et. al., 1988). The central focus of Chuang's research was the *family*. He believed that owing to the great impact of industrialization, modernization and urbanization on the daily life of Taiwanese people, the traditional structure and function of a family were gradually changed in Taiwan (1972, 1976, 1981). After several years of investigation especially among agricultural and fishing villages, Chuang found out that statistics showed the most common family structure in rural Taiwan was no longer the traditional *extended family* in which grandparents, children's families as well as single children and grandchildren all lived together in the same household (1976, pp. 61-62 & 68-71; 1981, pp. 14-18). However, he believed that owing to the persistence of the traditional Chinese family values like filial piety, grandparents still preferred to live with or close to their children's families, especially the oldest son's,

even after the division of an extended family due to marriage, occupation, migration or other reasons (1981, pp. 24-26). Under such circumstances, Chuang proposed that there were two types of family structure developed among Taiwanese families (1972, 1976, 1981). One type was the *rotating-eating families* in which grandparents took turns eating and/or living with each son's family for a period of time (See case study C of Chuang, 1981, pp.11-14 for more details). The other type was the *united families* in which grandparents lived alone or with single children but at the same time, were financially supported either partly or totally by their children (See case study E of Chuang, 1981, pp. 18-24 for an example).

However, in recent years, Chuang pointed out that the rotating-eating families were gradually disappearing from agricultural villages in rural Taiwan (1972, 1976, 1981). Unless it was necessary, because the grandparents could not live by themselves physically or financially, the rotating-eating system was no longer favored by either generation in a family. From the grandparents' point of view, in order to eat and/or live with each son's family for a period of time, they had to adjust to different daily schedules and life styles, at the same time, face a serious challenge to their authority by the son and/or daughter-in-law in each household. Furthermore, according to the similarities and differences of attitudes and expectations toward childrearing, conflict between generations was easily created under the system of rotating-eating families. Arguments also arose within the younger generation of sons or daughters as well as sons- or daughters-in-law regarding their shared responsibility of filial piety. Therefore, Chuang predicted that this rotating-

eating system would be transformed gradually into the other kinds of family structure, such as the united families, in order to satisfy the different needs of both generations among contemporary Taiwanese families (1972, p. 89; 1976, pp. 72-74; 1981, p. 26-28).

According to the process of family division in Taiwan, Chuang concluded that the whole procedure an extended family took to divide its family members into several small families could be long and pass through several stages. The most common way was that grandparents in a family, or the most respectable person in the top generation, decided how to arrange the family belongings including land, business, incomes and other valuables among family members before division. Chuang also mentioned that lately, grandparents preferred to keep some of the belongings like a piece of land or a house for themselves while they were still alive. Meanwhile, they prepared a will regarding the arrangement after they passed away. Thus, even after an early division of an extended family, grandparents could hold their positions as the leaders of the entire families, at the same time keeping their authority for making major decisions concerning family budget, ancestor worship or childbirth (1981, pp. 24-25). Three types of family structure developed under these circumstances. One was that grandparents chose to live with only one of their children's families, usually the oldest son's, with or without single children, at the same time remaining an intimate relationship with the other sons' and daughters' families socially, emotionally and sometimes financially. Chuang defined this particular structure as a *stem family* (1972, pp. 87-90; 1976, pp. 61-62 & p. 73; also see case study B of 1981, pp.8-11 for an example).

The second type of structure was that grandparents chose to live on their own, with or without single children, meanwhile keeping close relationships with all of their children's families. Under this circumstance, grandparents constantly associated themselves with their children in a mutually supportive way. Grandparents kept full participation in almost all the domestic events as well as making influential decision for family members emotionally, socially and, especially, financially. Chuang proposed this type of structure as the *united families* (1972, pp. 88-90 & 96-97; 1976, pp. 71-74; also see case study E of 1981, pp. 18-24 for an example).

The third type of structure was that grandparents lived alone, with or without single children, at the same time keeping themselves economically independent while associating with their children emotionally or, sometimes, socially. Under this type of development, an extended family divided into several small families. Each included only necessary family members like father, mother or single children. Chuang called this kind of structure the *nuclear family* (1972, p. 89; 1976, pp. 61-62 & 72-73 see case study A of 1981, pp. 3-8 for an example).

Chuang believed that in a stem family or an united families, grandparents not only played important roles as adult children's supporters for their emotion, household work, child care and finance, but also as their advisors for the family activities like ancestor worship, traditional ceremony and other rituals. Therefore, even under the impact of modernization, urbanization and migration in rural Taiwan, Chuang argued that these two

types of family structure, instead of the extended family and the rotating-eating families, would be much more acceptable among contemporary Taiwanese families (1972, pp. 96-97; 1976, pp. 73-74; 1981, pp. 24-29). Chuang's research, regarding the changing structure and function of families in Taiwan, provided a basis for studying childrearing and filial piety among Taiwanese families across generations.

2.1.2 David Y. H. Wu and his research in Chinese childtraining

Based on observations, interviews and general participation in the affairs of this communities, there is little reason to doubt that the majority of mothers establish an affectionate and secure bond with their children . . . The parents continue to worry about the future of their children as they grow up, arranging their marriages and helping them to set up businesses or continuing to share a business with them. The parent's constant willingness to answer the child's call for comfort and assistance is a major reason why many Chinese in Papua New Guinea still honor the concept of filial piety (looking after elderly parents and respecting aged relatives) and of living together (Wu, 1985a, p. 127).

By conducting research in Taiwan, China and several overseas Chinese communities, one of cultural anthropologist David Y. H. Wu's major interest was in comparative studies of Chinese childtraining (1966, 1968, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1985a, 1985b, 1988, 1989; Tseng & Wu, 1985). In the s, Wu had investigated the childtraining methods for infant and child care at the villages of Easter Paiwan, a group of aborigines, in southern Taiwan (1966, 1968). Wu discovered that two important characteristics of Easter Paiwaners' childtraining methods were very similar to those of traditional Chinese

patterns of childrearing. First, infant and young children were taken care of and protected by parents, grandparents, family members and other kin at all times. Parental attitudes toward young children, especially those under three or four years old, were lenient or even indulgent. Infant and young children's needs were always gratified. A mother and her baby were rarely separated from each other. A baby or a young child was seldom left alone without being accompanied by an adult or an older siblings in a family. Mother-child relationships at this stage were loving, caring, intimate and secure. Second, at the age of five or six, parents or adults in a family began to train children for responsibility and obedience at home. By using methods like shaming, teasing, threatening, reasoning, scolding or even physical punishment, parents tried to establish a hierarchical system among family members in an authoritarian way. In the meantime, by teaching children the responsibilities like housework or care for younger siblings as well as the duty of obedience for parents and the elders at home, expectations for conformity toward different authority figures in adulthood were also cultivated (1966, pp. 742-744). Wu argued that under the impact of modernization, although the new or westernized childrearing methods were commonly accepted by some of the parents in Taiwan, most of the parents did not realize that they continued to expect their children to act and behave under the traditional norm. Therefore, Wu proposed that further research is needed regarding the continuity and change of Chinese childtraining methods (1966, pp. 744-745).

From 1971 to 1973, David Y. H. Wu conducted another anthropological fieldwork regarding maternal childrearing attitudes and practices among two overseas Chinese

communities, the Rabaul and Kavieng, in Papua New Guinea (1982, 1985a). By interviewing 26 mothers and observing the mother-child interactions in naturalistic settings, Wu investigated the similarities and differences of childrearing attitudes and expectations between 16 local born and 10 China or Hong Kong born mothers within the context of socialization (1985a, p. 115). Referring to John Bowlby's (1969, 1971, 1973) theoretical framework of attachment, separation and loss in particular, Wu presented the observed continuity versus change of Chinese cultural values and maternal childrearing behavior in these overseas Chinese communities. For example, Wu pointed out that under the influence of traditional Chinese culture, similar behavioral characteristics like the long-lasting ties between parents and children as well as the group-oriented conduct with family members and other kin in many social, political and business activities were kept. The concept of filial piety, ancestor worship and several traditional Chinese ceremony were still honored in their everyday life. The Chinese in these two overseas communities continuously preserved the intimate bond between generations and the constant social involvement with family members and other kin throughout their lifetime (1985a, pp. 114-115 & pp. 127-128). Wu emphasized that although infants and children were not the center but only part of the Chinese social network, they were hardly separated from adults. Children and elderly family members in these overseas communities were never left out of social gatherings. They fully participated in almost all the family events and social activities. Therefore, Wu argued that surrounded and taken care of by family members and other kin at all times, Chinese infants and children not only developed an affectionate, firm and secure bond with their own mothers, but also established an

interpersonal intimacy with a number of attachment figures like fathers, grandparents, older siblings, native nurse or kin at a very early age (Wu, 1985a, pp. 117-119).

Further, owing to the impact of changing cultural values and environmental factors, Wu observed that the Chinese in Papua New Guinea certainly undergo some changes regarding maternal attitudes and expectations toward childrearing. For example, because most of the mothers interviewed had to work after their babies were born, most babies were only breast-fed for two weeks to three months instead of a year or longer. Also, when asked about their attitudes and reactions toward children's physical aggression at school, those China or Hong Kong born mothers reported that they had a dilemma. They were confused about whether they should advise their children according to tradition to be nonviolent and seek help from an authority when attacked by other children. Or, they wonder if they should teach what they were taught by those Australian teachers that children need to fight back and protect themselves if attacked. More interestingly, Wu found out that under the same circumstance, those local born Chinese mothers all expected their children to fight back if attacked but make a distinction regarding whom they should fight. Children were told that if the other child was not a Chinese, and especially if he/she was bad, they should fight back. Otherwise, if the other child was a Chinese, they should avoid fighting (1985a, pp. 129-131). Wu pointed out that by having these in-group and out-group differentiation, these mothers made some adjustment in their childtraining methods due to the advice received from local authorities as well as the adherence to certain Chinese cultural values. Wu strongly suggested that further research

be needed regarding the impact of parents' attitudinal and behavioral changes toward childrearing and socialization among these overseas Chinese communities due to the alteration of cultural values and environmental factors (1985a, p. 131).

In the 1980s, Wu conducted several studies on the relationships between Chinese culture and childrearing in Taiwan, China, the United States and other Chinese communities (1981, 1982, 1983, 1985a, 1985b, 1988, 1989; Tseng & Wu, 1985; Tobin, Wu & Davidson, 1989). Among his publications, Wu co-edited a book called *Chinese culture and mental health* with another Chinese scholar Wen-Shing Tseng after participating in an international conference held in Hawaii which brought together at least twenty-eight Chinese psychiatrists and behavioral scientists from all over the world as well as hundreds of researchers and scholars in this field (Tseng & Wu, 1985). In addition, given his interest in the continuity and change of Chinese culture and childrearing in recent years, special attention was paid to the impact of the one-child-per-family policy and institutionalized group care on childrearing attitudes and expectations in contemporary China (Wu, 1983, 1985b, 1988; Wu & Tseng, 1985). Lately, in collaboration with two other researchers, Joseph J. Tobin and Dana H. Davidson, Wu described three types of childcare in a book called *Preschool in three cultures - Japan, China and the United States* (Tobin, Wu & Davidson, 1989). Techniques like "visual ethnography" or "multivocal ethnography" were used in this cross-cultural study (pp. 4-5). Video-taping a day in a selected preschool in Japan, China and the United States was chosen as the "visual ethnography" in this project. The discussion among preschool

teachers, parents, administrators and childcare specialists after seeing videotapes of preschool was collected as a text of "multivocal ethnography" for gathering different perspectives for this research. In addition, after watching videotapes and having an open discussions, 300 Japanese, 240 Chinese and 210 American viewers' responses to a designed questionnaire concerning the function of a preschool as well as its impact on the family structure in three cultures were collected (p. 188). By analyzing the results of this questionnaire, intercultural comparisons regarding parents', teachers', administrators' and specialists' attitudes and expectations toward childcare were also presented in this book (pp. 188-221).

2.1.3 David Y. F. Ho and his Research in Chinese patterns of socialization

The "adequate" adult was one who conformed to the demands of *Li-Chiao* (rules of propriety) in his personal conduct, and was governed by *wu-lun* (five cardinal relations) in his interpersonal relations. Central to the requirements of adequacy was that of fulfilling one's filial obligations. Above all else, it was filial devotion which earned respect for the individual, and honor for his family and ancestors. In short, filial piety was the prime principle for socializing children. (Ho, 1981, p. 86)

Over the past two decades, with a special emphasis on childtraining and filial piety among families in Hong Kong, China and Taiwan, David Y. F. Ho conducted a number of studies regarding Chinese patterns of socialization (1972, 1973, 1974c, 1974d, 1979d, 1981a, 1981b, 1986, 1987, 1989; Ho & Kang, 1984; Ho & Lee, 1974). In the early 1970s, Ho addressed the Chinese concept of "face" in several articles (1972, 1974a, 1976). Later,

in Hong Kong, Ho (1979a, p. 5) tested 1945 Chinese students' verbal intelligence among the fourth graders and the older children of nine primary or secondary schools. In order to investigate the relationships between parental education and the students' verbal intelligence, the Idioms Test and the Proverbs Test were constructed by Ho as the measuring instruments of this study. The results suggested that parental education was not correlated with students' verbal intelligence or academic performance. Instead, other variables like birth order or the sibship size were the determinants of intellectual-academic ability for these Hong Kong pupils (1979a, 1979b). Moreover, Ho concluded that further research was needed for studying the effects of sibship on a child's psychological development, parental expectations or social interactions within a family (1979b, p. 38).

In addition, David Y. F. Ho conducted several clinical studies both in mainland China and in Hong Kong by using a therapeutic intervention for both parents and children in a family (1972, 1973, 1974d, 1979d, 1981b). In order to investigate the relations between filial piety and authoritarianism in a Chinese society, 135 Chinese teachers' attitudes toward authoritarianism and filial piety in Taiwan were surveyed. A translated F Scale and a Filial Piety Scale were developed by Ho and a colleague, L. Y. Lee at National Taiwan University (Ho & Lee, 1974). In this study, Ho and Lee concluded that since scores on the F Scale and those on the FP Scale were significantly correlated ($r = .50, p < .01$), a greater tendency toward authoritarianism for these primary schools teachers after internalizing the precept of filial piety was supported (p. 306).

With a proposition from previous studies (Ho, 1974c, 1981a, 1982; Ho & Lee, 1974) that filial piety was the primary guide for socialization among Chinese, Ho, along with T. K. Kang, further examined the paternal attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety in Hong Kong (Ho & Kang, 1984, study 2). The intergenerational similarities and differences of childrearing attitudes and practices among 20 grandfather-father pairs were investigated. A shortened, modified version of the Filial Piety Scale was developed (Ho & Kang, 1984, pp. 1015-1016). In addition, a Child Training Scale was designed to measure paternal attitudes toward childrearing (Ho & Kang, 1984, pp. 1014-1015). Several findings were presented in this study. First, the respondents' age were significantly correlated with their scores on the Child Training Scale and those on the Filial Piety Scale (CT Scale: $r = .52$, $p < .05$; FP Scale: $r = .49$, $p < .05$; also see Ho & Kang, 1984, pp. 1007-1008). Second, the respondents' education level was significantly correlated negatively with scores on the Child Training Scale, but not with those on the Filial Piety Scale (CT Scale: $r = -.47$, $p < .05$; FP Scale: $r = -.28$, $p > .05$; also see p. 1008). Third, the respondents' length of stay in Hong Kong was not related to their scores on the two Scales. Fourth, the respondents' scores on the two Scales were significantly correlated ($r = .61$, $p < .05$; see p. 1009). For the fathers' or the grandfathers', scores on the two Scales were also significantly correlated ($r = .45$, $p < .05$ for the fathers; $r = .59$, $p < .05$ for the grandfathers; also see pp. 1008-1009). However, correlations between the grandfather-father pairs on each Scale were not significant. Further, results of the item analyses between the two Scales showed that the respondents who agreed more with the perceptions proposed on the Filial Piety Scale were more likely to consent to have strict

discipline and proper behavior for children; but less likely to cultivate children's self-expression, independence, creativity, self-reliance and personal development as described on the Child Training Scale. The more traditional the respondents' attitudes toward the Child Training Scale, the stronger agreement they had with those described on the Filial Piety Scale regarding respect for the person honored by one's father, absolute obedience for one's parents or loyalty to the principles and attitudes of one's deceased father (p. 1009). Fifth, the grandfathers' mean scores were significantly higher than those of the fathers on both Scales. Therefore, Ho and Kang believed that a higher degree of traditionalism was shown for these grandfathers' attitudes toward both the CT Scale and the FP Scale when compared with those of the fathers (p. 1009). As a result of this intergenerational comparison, Ho and Kang concluded that filial piety had no longer served as an "absolute observance" as it used to, especially for those younger, urbanized, better educated Chinese in Hong Kong (p. 1010). Although childtraining attitudes and practices had changed in younger generations due to the reduction in authoritarianism and the greater involvement of a father in his child's early years, the impact of some traditional patterns remained strong. Ho and Kang further predicted that attitudes toward filial piety would continue to play an important role for Chinese childtraining (p. 1011).

In addition, David Y. F. Ho conducted several studies to investigate Chinese patterns of socialization (1974c, 1981a, 1982, 1986, 1989). First, real life examples with relation to the traditional patterns of socialization in a Chinese society were presented in

association with several classic Chinese theories (1981a). Second, several research literature and empirical studies written either in English or Chinese regarding the continuity versus change of Chinese patterns of socialization among different Chinese communities were also reviewed (1986, 1989). More recently, by co-editing a book called *Asian contributions to psychology* (Paranjpe, Ho & Rieber, 1988) and publishing articles considering the impact of 1997 on people in Hong Kong (Ho, 1985; Lam & Ho, 1989), David Y. F. Ho continued to provide an insider's view for studying socialization among Chinese communities.

2.2 Review of the key findings regarding parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety

In this section, several key findings in the research literature are reviewed in relation to the two dependent variables in this study. First, for studying parental attitudes toward childrearing among Taiwanese families, research literature in consideration of age and sex of children or parents, occupation and education of fathers or mothers, as well as family structure or rural-urban difference among Taiwanese families are presented. Second, in studying parental attitudes toward filial piety among Taiwanese families, several key studies concerning traditional patterns of filial piety and parents' occupation, education and family structure across generations in Taiwan are introduced. The Confucian paradigm or some traditional rules as well as ancestor worship or other rituals

regarding parental attitudes toward filial piety among Taiwanese families are discussed. A review of the key findings under consideration of both parents' occupation, education and family structure across generations is also provided. Finally, a summary and a critique of the reviewed literature are presented. An implication for this study is also offered.

2.2.1 Parental attitudes toward childrearing among Taiwanese families

When reviewing the research literature with relation to Chinese parents' attitudes toward childrearing, caution is needed in order not to overgeneralize the Chinese families as the same due to the separation in time and place among families in Taiwan, Hong Kong, China or overseas Chinese communities. In this study, the main focus is on the Taiwanese families - families residing in Taiwan for more than two generations. Thus, the studies reviewed in this section are those conducted among Taiwanese families. In addition, with respect to the independent variables of this study, a review of the literature is presented under four topics. First, children's age or sex are considered in association with parents' childrearing attitudes. Second, literature regarding the relationships between parents' age or gender and their childrearing attitudes is reviewed. Third, studies concerning relationships between parents' occupation or education and their attitudes toward childrearing are addressed. Finally, relationships between parents' family structure or rural-urban residential difference and their attitudes toward childrearing is also discussed.

2.2.1.1 Age and sex of children

Several researchers included David Y. F. Ho and David Y. H. Wu had pointed out that Taiwanese parents' childrearing attitudes toward infants and children, for those age six or older in particular, were clearly differentiated (Ho, 1981, 1986, 1989; Li, 1970; Wolf, 1970, 1972; Wu, 1966, 1968). At an early age, especially under age three or four, children were generally considered to be innocent, vulnerable and not responsible for their own behavior. Parental attitudes toward infant and young children were lenient and protective (Ho, 1986, p. 4 & 1989, p. 152; Wu, 1966, p. 743). For example, although Taiwanese parents began to toilet-train their children at an average age of one to five months, parents never blamed or punished children age three or younger when their pants or the bed were wet (Li, 1970, pp. 168-171). Another example was that, traditionally, in Taiwan, infants or children under age three were usually surrounded and taken care of by a number of people. Children commonly were breast-fed by their mothers until one year of age, sometimes up to two years. After weaning, parents or the other grown-ups in the family usually fed children by spoons until they reached age six or seven. In a family, babies or young Children were never left alone crying or hungry without adults' attention (Li, 1970, pp. 165-168; Wu, 1966, p. 743). Therefore, parental attitudes toward babies or young children were loving, caring and, sometimes, even indulgent across generations among Taiwanese families.

However, when children reached age five or six, parental attitudes became strict,

restrain and, sometimes, even harsh, especially toward the training of responsibility and obedience (Ho, 1986, pp. 3-9 & 1989, p. 152; Wu, pp. 743-744). Take for example the toilet training mentioned previously, Taiwanese parents admitted that discipline like warning, reasoning, teasing, scolding or even some physical punishment was applied if the children had continuously wet the bed or refused to go to the rest room at age five or older (Li, 1970, pp. 168-170). For the training of obedience, parents generally expected children at age six or older to be quiet, industrious and nonaggressive. An investigation conducted by F. L. Li (1970) in rural Taiwan described the strong intolerance expressed by the mothers interviewed toward children's rebellious behavior against the parents or the rules. Children's behavior like stealing other people's belongings, fighting with others, lying, playing with water or fire, climbing a big tree or engaging in life threatening activities without parents' permission was severely punished (pp. 180-183). Traditionally, parents had the absolute power over their children. Children were constantly reminded of the obligation regarding obedience and filial piety to their own parents (Ho, 1981, pp. 87-90; Li, p. 193; Wu, 1966, pp. 743-744 & 1985, p. 36). Children, especially sons, were expected to take the responsibility of looking after aged parents when grew up (Ho, 1981, p. 92). Even a child's body was not considered to be his or her own property (Ho, 1981, p. 90; Wu, 1966, p. 744). If a child failed to take good care of his or her own body or even risked the life, he or she would be seriously criticized or punished for the violation of filial piety (Ho, 1981, p. 92; Wu, 1966, p. 744).

Traditionally, at the age of five or six, parental attitudes toward sons or daughters

became distinct. Male children were generally expected to be brave, self-reliant and responsible for work outside the home. Female children were supposed to be quite, considerate and helpful for housework like cooking, cleaning or babysitting (Li, 1970, pp. 173-175). Within a family, male children generally had higher status than female children (Ho, 1989, p. 154). At an agricultural or a fishing village in rural Taiwan, parents, especially grandparents, strongly preferred to have a male child in a family. Before the 1970s, a wife was expected to have at least two sons for continuing her husband's family line as well as promoting her own position within a family (Chuang, 1972, p. 89 & 1981, p. 28). Failure in producing a son was commonly regarded as unfilial for a husband to his parents and as a strong reason for him to obtain a second wife or concubine (Ho, 1981, p. 91). When children reached the age of six or seven, female children were supposed to do all the household chores and taken care of the younger siblings at home without further school education (Li, 1970, pp. 188-190; Wolf, 1972, pp. 32-33). Male children, on the other hand, were expected to take the responsibility for honoring the parents, worshiping the ancestor and earning a living for the entire family (Ho, 1981, pp. 91-92; Wolf, 1972, p. 37). the expectation toward a girl was that she follow the role of her mother, and a boy was to succeed in that of his father (Ho, 1989, p. 154; Chen, Kuo, Wang & Yu, 1987, pp. 102-104; Lu, 1987, pp. 169-174).

2.2.1.2 Age and sex of parents

In a traditional Chinese society, parental roles toward childrearing were clearly defined. In a family, the mother was a primary caretaker and a comforter for the children's physical and emotional needs especially before children reached school age. The father's role at home was more of an authority figure and a disciplinarian (Ho, 1986, p. 36 & 1989, p. 155; Li, 1970, pp. 177-178; Su, 1968, pp. 108-109). The mother-child relationships were generally perceived by children as affectionate, caring, protective and lenient. The father-child interactions were mostly described as strict, distant or even tense (Ho, 1989, p.155; Su, 1968, p.108). However, some studies have suggested certain departures from those traditionally defined parental roles especially among the young, better-educated, urbanized generation (Chuang, 1981; Li, 1970; Yuan, 1972; Chen, Ku, Wang & Yu, 1987; Olsen, 1971, 1974).

For example, after interviewing 26 mothers at an agricultural village in rural Taiwan, F. L. Li (1970, pp. 188-192) described some differences of these mothers' childrearing attitudes and expectations according to their ages. She stated that for those who were over fifty years old, as a result of their own childhood experience of being poor, uneducated and hard-working, they simply expected children to be good persons and sufficient helpers for the family. On the other hand, the mothers who were under fifty years old generally expressed their expectations for the next generation that they be better-educated or well-trained professionals in order not to suffer the same pain as they

did. For the mothers under age forty in particular, they generally preferred to use childrearing methods like reasoning, persuasion or discussion rather than apply disciplinary techniques such as scolding, slapping or beating without explanation. Therefore, harsh discipline used by the older parents for children's absolute obedience was questioned and not favored as an adequate method by these younger mothers for childrearing (Li, 1970, pp. 188-192).

In terms of the traditional patterns of decision-making toward childrearing in a family, some differences were also found. Studies conducted by Y. C. Chuang (1972, 1976, 1981) showed that, in an extended or a stem family, the young mothers usually had to follow the rules and instructions established by the aged or experienced women regarding childrearing. However, in a rotating-extended or a nuclear family, mothers in the younger generation gradually gained some power for making decisions on childrearing (Chuang, 1981, p. 28). Another research study conducted by C. W. Su (1968, pp. 106-107) among 708 elementary school students in Taipei, Taiwan also suggested some departure from the traditional roles of parents. Most fathers and mothers described by their children in this study shared parental roles like caregivers, playmates, instructors and disciplinarians at home cooperatively. Further, another study conducted by S. S. Yuan (1972) in this area described that for the 585 elementary and junior high students in the same greater Taipei area, most of the elementary school students, those who lived in nuclear families in particular, reported that both of their parents shared the authority of decision-making regarding childrearing. For those who lived in a stem family or an

extended family, both parents and grandparents were perceived as decision-makers. However, for those junior high school students living in nuclear families, the mothers, instead of the fathers or the grandparents, were generally perceived to have the ultimate power for making decisions regarding childrearing, education or daily routine (Yuan, 1972, pp. 49-53).

2.2.1.3 Occupation and education of parents

Most of the research literature conducted in Taiwan regarding the relationships between parents' occupation or education and their childrearing attitudes referred only to those of the father's within a family. Due to an increased number of educated women as well as working mothers after the 1970s, researchers need to consider the impact of a mother's educational level and occupational status on childrearing. In the 1980s, some studies described interviews with the mothers for their childrearing practices or socialization patterns while using the fathers' occupation or education as indicators of her social economic status. Therefore, when reviewing the research in this area, data in the role of the social economic status of a family needs to be interpreted with caution.

In the early 1970s, Nancy J. Olsen (1975) conducted an empirical study examining the impact of social class and rural-urban patterns on socialization in Taiwan. By selecting 107 Taiwanese families from 2000 sixth graders', a survey regarding parental occupation,

education, household composition and others was conducted. The patterns of socialization for the families of two public schools in Taipei city and one rural school at Lu-shang village of central Taiwan were investigated. A structured interview similar to that used in the Six Cultures Project (Whiting, Child & Lambert, 1966) was designed. The mothers of the 107 selected families were interviewed regarding their childrearing practices and socialization values (pp. 663-664). In addition, a questionnaire was used to examine maternal behavior in six dimensions - affection, power-assertive discipline, love-oriented discipline, conformity values, self-reliance values and aggression control (p. 665). The results indicated that love-oriented discipline, conformity values and self-reliance values were especially associated with maternal educational level. Power-assertive discipline and aggressive control were affecting more by father's occupational position. For affection, according to the analysis of partial correlation conducted by Olsen, neither maternal education nor paternal occupation strongly explained the maternal behavior. However, the influence of education was stronger than that of occupation (p. 673). Furthermore, data showed that for those high status urban mothers, they tended to emphasize more self-reliance, less conformity to authority and less control of aggression for their children than the low status urban mothers or rural mothers did. Those high status urban mothers also were more willing to show their affection and use love-oriented discipline to their children than the other two groups of mothers did (p. 674). Results of this study suggested that both occupation and education were important variables when studying childrearing practices and socialization values among Taiwanese families. However, maternal education in this study was associated more profoundly than paternal occupation with

family socialization. As a result, Olsen (1975) concluded that "Further analysis indicated that educational level was the primary determinant of socialization values, and of those patterns of maternal behavior surrounding the expression and manipulation of affection, but that occupational position had the greater impact on punishing behaviors" (p. 674).

More recently, Su and Jong (1985) conducted a study among 508 Taiwanese mothers in Taipei city investigating their childrearing practices toward infants. They summarized in this study that, the middle- or lower-class mothers generally preferred the traditional childrearing practices like rocking the baby to sleep, picking up crying baby immediately, or soothing a child when he or she fell down. The upper-class mothers on the other hand rather chose the so-called modern or westernized methods such as letting a baby sleep on his or her stomach or having regular health check up for the infant (p. 190). Similar results were obtained by Chen, Ku, Wang and Yu (1987) when interviewing 22 college-educated, 27 high school graduates and 17 elementary school graduate mothers who had at least one child around six or seven years old in the greater Taipei area. They concluded that the better-educated mothers generally were more willing to try different alternatives regarding childrearing rather than totally accept the folk theory passed down by aged or experienced women from generation to generation (pp. 65-105). For those college-educated mothers, childrearing methods like reasoning, persuading or ignoring children's undesired behavior were generally used. Childtraining techniques like warning, threatening or physical punishment were more commonly used by those elementary school or high school graduates (pp. 94-99). Data also revealed that for those college-educated

mothers, more than two days' separation from their own children was commonly experienced when they were very little, usually between children's age one month to three years. Since most of these college-educated mothers were working and had to return to work after the children were born, different daycare arrangement like asking the grandparents or grandparents-in-law for help or hiring a nanny was planned. On the other hand, for the mothers with high school or elementary school education, those who were not working outside the home in particular, separation from their children occurred when the children were much older, generally after the child reached age four or five (pp. 99-100). For the college-educated mothers, those who were working in particular, children's independence was expected at an early age, so the time for children to attend a daycare was usually no later than age three. For the mothers with high school or elementary school education, they generally preferred to wait till their children were around age six or seven before entering an elementary school (p. 101). In this study, both the mothers' educational level and occupational status were highly related with their childrearing attitudes and behavior patterns.

Researcher C. T. Ei (1987) conducted a survey to investigate 796 working mothers who resided in the metropolitan Taipei area and had first born children between age 0-3, 3-6, or 6-12. In this study, the influence of maternal occupational status, working condition and job satisfaction on their childrearing practices were examined. Ei concluded that only the working condition was significantly correlated with the amount of time these mothers actually spent on childrearing. The pressure from work tended to have greater

impact on mothers having children under three years old. Around 30% of these working mothers who had children under three years of age spent time with their children only on weekends or holidays. For mothers who had children between age 3 to 6, the working schedule and benefits like vacation, sick time or maternity leave were the most influential factors on how much time they actually spent in childcare. The results also suggested that when a child was under three years old, the older the mother was, the more time she tend to spent on childcare (p. 199).

2.2.1.4 Family structure and rural-urban residence

Most of the research conducted at different agricultural or fishing villages in rural Taiwan showed that although industrialization, modernization and urbanization had a great impact on families, generational relationships continue to play important roles on decision-making regarding childrearing (Chuang, 1972, 1976, 1981; Li, 1970; Wolf, 1970, 1972; Wu, 1966, 1968). For example, in stem or united families (Chuang, 1972, 1976, 1981), childrearing attitudes and expectations were different between generations. However, grandparents continuously made major decisions for their children like how many grandsons they expected to have, who would take care of their grandchildren while both parents were working, how to rear or what to teach the children at home, . . . etc. On the other hand, in a rotating-eating or a nuclear family, grandparents' authority had been seriously challenged in many areas including childrearing. The young parents, for

those in a nuclear family in particular, gradually obtained more power for making decisions including childrearing. Generally, in an agricultural or a fishing village, due to the physical closeness and the occupational similarity between generations in a family, grandparents continuously played a supporting role as substitute figures for the young parents regarding childrearing.

In contrast, due to most of the urban families investigated were nuclear families, research in this area suggested greater departure from the traditional patterns of childrearing between generations (Chen, et. al., 1987; Ei, 1987; Yu, 1987; Yuan, 1972). In a survey conducted by Yuan (1972) in the greater Taipei area, the relationships between family structure and the children's perception toward their own parents were investigated. The results showed that owing to the physical separation between generations, both the father and the mother of a nuclear family were more likely to share the responsibility with each other instead of with the grandparents regarding childrearing. In addition, the older the child grew, the more power the mother tended to have in a nuclear family for making decisions in relation with childrearing (pp. 28-53). However, in a dual-earned nuclear family, the young parents generally preferred to have the paternal or the maternal grandparents looking after or living with grandchildren while they were working. When children were little, especially under age three, working parents generally willing to let children live in grandparents' house for a period of time or during workday. The parents generally visited their children on holidays or weekends but keeping close contact with them such as making frequent phone calls as well as supporting them

financially (Ei, 1987, p. 199). These parents and grandparents believed that by sharing the responsibility of childrearing between the two generations for an intimate connection of love and care, part of the request for filial piety as well as family harmony could be fulfilled. Another survey conducted by D. H. Yu (1987) among 644 married men and women in Taipei city indicted that due to the active participation from both generations in childrearing, the different attitudes and expectations toward childrearing, the ideal number and sex of children or others were the most common causes for having family conflict. In a stem or an extended family, differences between generations regarding daily routine, housework assignment, eating habit, life style or personal privacy were the common reasons for raising family conflict (pp. 60-62). Therefore, Y. C. Chuang (1972, 1976, 1981) proposed that due to the decreased number of the extended and rotating-eating families at an agricultural or a fishing village in recent years, the united families, instead of the stem or nuclear families, would be gradually accepted by both generations in rural Taiwan. On the other hand, for those urban families, the nuclear family would be the most popular structure among contemporary Taiwanese families partly because of the limited living space and the diverse social economic background of families members. Researcher D. H. Yu (1987) believed that the shortage of a nuclear family like lacking mutual support or long-lasting tie between generations would make both grandparents and parents rethink the possibility of family structure like a united family or a modified rotating-eating family. Further research regarding the impact of family structure on parental childrearing attitudes and expectations with consideration of both generations' perspectives among Taiwanese families in rural or urban area were needed.

2.2.2 Parental attitudes toward filial piety among Taiwanese families

For many years, the perception of filial piety serves as a primary guide for parents to rear and socialize their children in Taiwan (Chuang, 1981; Ho, 1981; Wolf, 1972; Wu, 1966). However, due to the changing roles of Taiwanese people both at home and in the work place, parents of both genders and generations within a family are reevaluating their attitudes and expectations toward traditional patterns of filial piety (Yu, 1987, 1991). The focus of this section is on several key studies conducted among Taiwanese families recently in this area. Some classic Chinese theories like the Confucian paradigm and the other behavior norm in relation with the Taiwanese parents' attitudes and expectations toward filial piety are presented. Ancestor worship, religious ceremony and the other rituals in association with the perception of filial piety among Taiwanese families are also discussed. In addition, several key findings in this area are introduced in consideration of parents' occupation, education and family structure.

2.2.2.1 The Confucian paradigm and other classic Chinese theories

The classic Chinese theories like *Li Chi* (Book of Rites), *Confucian Analects*, *Mencius* (the dialectics of one of Confucius' favorite student - Mencius) or *The Classic of Filial Piety* offered several traditional patterns of filial piety for the Chinese people within a family based on one's generation, gender or age. Regarding these classic Chinese

theories, a hierarchical system in a male-dominated society was established. The traditional behavior norm such as letting a ruler over minister, father over son, husband over wife or an older brother over a younger sibling also empowered a suppressive relation between generations and genders in a Chinese society (Ho, 1981, pp. 81-95; Hsu, 1985, pp. 98-101; Yang, 1991, pp. 66-69). In 1949, the government of the Republic of China moved to Taiwan. Since then, the Confucian paradigm including *Confucian Analects* and *Mencius* as well as some classic behavioral norms like *The Twenty-four Examples of Filial Piety* were taught in every classrooms from elementary schools to colleges. The traditional patterns of filial piety gradually became one of the salient feature for socialization in Taiwan (Hwang, 1991, pp. 4-7). The foundation of filial piety was rooted more than thousands of years ago in a Chinese society. Some traditional behavior norm like the Confucian paradigm played an important role for the cultivation of filial piety in Taiwan. Under the design of the Confucian paradigm, a filial son has an obligation to follow his father's order including arrangement like marriage, childrearing, occupation, education or residence. In one of David Y. F. Ho's article, *Traditional patterns of socialization in Chinese society* (1981), a father's authoritarian relations to his son(s) in a Chinese society was described. For example, a filial son, especially the oldest, was expected to follow his father's principle even long after the father was deceased (*Confucian Analects*, I & IV; Ho, 1981, p. 85). Another example was that, according to Mencius's definition, among three of the most unfilial acts, the lack of posterity, male children in particular, was considered the most serious violation of filial piety within a family (*Mencius*, IV; Ho, 1981, p. 91). Throughout a male child's life, the oldest or the

only son in particular, he was always governed by the ethics of filial piety. Ho (1981) discussed this obligation as the following:

As a part of this filial obligation, the male children must assume responsibility to continue the family line and to raise the next generation of filial sons and daughters; the female children were to be married off and duty-bound each to bear male heirs to their husband's family. As adults, it was now their turn to nourish and to educate the young, and to look forward to the day when, near the completion of their life cycles, they could enjoy the filial devotion of their own children and grandchildren. (p. 86)

From a female's view, traditionally, she needed to fulfill the three obligations of obedience throughout her entire life. At first, she had to obey to her own father during childhood. After married, she should conform to her husband. In her old age, she was expected to listen to and depend upon her son, usually the oldest one (*San-Tsung* - three obligations of obedience for woman; Ho, 1981, p. 89). For a married woman to have at least one son for continuing her husband's family line and being taken care of in the old age was a necessity in a traditional Chinese society (Ho, 1981, pp. 91-92). The perception of filial piety was generally described as a guidance for socialization (Ho, 1981), an obligation designed for both men and women at different developmental stage (Wolf, 1972) or a power distribution between generations and genders within a family (Chuang, 1981). The patterns of filial piety continuously played an essential role for Taiwanese parents' attitudes and expectations toward the next generation.

2.2.2.2 Ancestor worship and other rituals

Several field investigation conducted by researchers Ying-Chang Chuang, Yih-Yuan Li and associates suggested that within a family, ancestor worship, traditional Chinese ceremonies, religious activities and the other rituals generally enhanced the physical closeness and loyalty among family members and the other kin (Chuang, 1972, 1976, 1981, 1985; Hsieh & Chuang, 1985; Li, 1976, 1985a, 1985b, 1989). Traditionally, Chinese people honored their ancestor and deceased parents by setting a memorial symbol in the living room of each household. By having brief description in a book called family lineage for each family member, especially male, personal as well as family reputation bonded together. Worshipping ancestor once or twice a day leaded by the oldest male in a family usually symbolized the continuity of a family line. In the process of these rituals, family members kept the memory of the deceased parents and their ancestor in a spiritual way. On special occasions like the Ancestor Worship Day or the Chinese New Year Eve, all the family members and the kin in a family gathered in a selected place, usually the house of an oldest male in the top generation, for having ceremonies to remember the family root and appreciate the heritage left by their ancestor. By observing and absorbing the parents' attitudes and behavior toward aged grandparents or deceased ancestor within a family, children learned at a very early age that they were not only expected to carry out the family line like their own parents did, but also supposed to pass the responsibility of filial piety from generation to generation.

Several field investigation conducted among families in rural Taiwan suggested that religious activities also played important roles for Taiwanese people's family gathering (Chuang, 1972, 1976, 1981; Li, F. L., 1970; Li, Y. Y., 1985a, 1985b). Traditionally, in a family, all the members shared the same religious belief. Even long after an extended family had divided, the religious activities continuously provided a sense of obligation among family members or a spiritual closeness with the other kin. In a special religious event like the birthday of a certain god at the hometown, all the families members and the kin got together then chose a representative, usually the oldest male in the top generation, for participation. During these religious ceremonies, all the family members and kin under the same last name gathered to know one another. The feelings of blood relation and a sense of identity within a family promoted a willingness for looking after the age parents or the younger siblings in a certain way. These religious activities also brought all the family members and kin closer together physically, emotionally and sometimes even financially.

Feng-Lien Li in an article called "A case study of child training and education in rural Taiwan" (1970) pointed out that in Taiwan, folk religion influenced the attitudes, expectations and behavior patterns between generations in many way. Since a married woman was pregnant, family members, especially grandparents or the other experienced women in the top generation, would give advice for the young mother on how to care for the unborn baby based on their folk belief or the religious rituals. By helping the young parents to select a name for the newborn or giving advice on how to prevent evil from

hurting the child, the grandparents generally had an ultimate power within a family (pp. 158-165). In addition, owing to most of the characters regarded in folk religion were clearly defined as loyal, filial and faithful to one's country, family and friend, people generally accepted these behavior norm and set up the same moral standard for themselves and the others.

Cultural anthropologist Yih-Yuan Li believed that from 1950 to 1965, foreign religion like Christianity or Catholicity was popular among Taiwanese. After 1965, the followers of foreign religion decreased. At the same time, people who believed in folk religion or Buddhism increased rapidly (1985b, p. 198). From the perspective of "ritual of social hygiene" (1985b, p. 197), Li investigated how did Taiwanese peasants use folk religious cult as an adapting mechanism in the process of modernization. First, when facing a crisis, through the ritual set by a traditional spirit-medium (or called "Tang-Ki" by Taiwanese), an individual made a plea for expelling evil out of one's body or local territory. Second, for reviving the traditional morality like patriotism, filial piety, loyalty or righteousness, folk religion in Taiwan, Pietism in particular, often emphasized on the rituals for purifying one's body and the inner spirit. By proposing vegetarianism, maintaining the clearness in the place of worship or following the behavior norms selected from some classic Chinese theory, religious rituals tended to evangelize both traditional morality and cardinal virtues among Taiwanese people (pp. 197-205). By having activities like ancestor worship, traditional Chinese ceremony or different religious rituals, interdependence and reciprocity among family members or the other kin were enhanced.

Therefore, an individual was not only willing to help another family member physically, emotionally or financially, but also tend to supervise one another regarding the filial obligation or other morality throughout one's life.

2.2.2.3 Occupation

From a cultural point of view, the past four hundred years of the ethnic relationships on the island of Taiwan can be divided into seven periods; these are: (1) before 1622, a period of pioneer exploitation; (2) from 1622 to 1662, an early colonial or Dutch period; (3) from 1662 to 1683, Koxinga's period; (4) from 1683 to 1875, the early Ch'ing period, (5) from 1875 to 1895, the late Ch'ing period, (6) from 1895 to 1945, the late colonial or Japanese period, (7) from 1945 to date, the Republican period. (Li, 1989, p. 103)

After World War II and fifty years of Japanese colonial period, Taiwan was restored to China. In 1949, the government of Republic of China moved to Taiwan after losing the mainland to Communist. Followers were about one million Mainlanders migrated from different provinces of China. At that time, the population of Taiwan was around six million of the earlier Hokkien and Hakka migrants immigrated before or during Japanese period (Li, 1989, p. 112). In the present day, the total population in Taiwan was estimated over nineteen millions. Due to the industrialization, modernization, migration, urbanization and the other environmental factors in recent years, parents of both genders from different generations in Taiwan faced different challenge regarding filial piety.

Traditionally, filial piety was the prime guide for people to interact properly in an agricultural society (Yang, 1991, pp. 22-27). In a traditional Chinese family, an oldest male in the top generation usually had the ultimate authority on family profession. In addition, due to the business shared by all the family members, the one with the most profession usually controlled the money and power within a family. However, in the recent years, due to the rapid modernization and industrialization in Taiwan, people's occupation changed from monopolization to multiplicity both within a family and in the society. Since people's occupation changed from manual labor to high-technic professional, a male in the top generation no longer held the ultimate power in a family. Meanwhile, the number of female in the work force was also increased. The traditional perception and behavior patterns toward filial piety were seriously challenged by the younger parents with different profession. Similar result was found in a survey conducted by Researcher Da-Hei Yu (1987) among 644 married men and women in Taipei, Taiwan regarding their attitudes and behavior patterns toward filial piety. She summarized that traditionally, one of the filial obligation of an adult children was to help family income through one's labor. However, over the past two decades, due to the increasing job opportunity on various profession in urban Taiwan, married men and women generally preferred to earn their living outside the home. As a result, only 3% of these subjects worked for family- or self-owned business (p. 39). The aged parents were neither the major breadwinners nor the only authority figures in a family regarding the different profession. Parents in the younger generation were less willing to identify themselves with the traditional patterns of filial piety defined by the older generation. In addition, the

young parents tended to spend more time on pursuing personal achievement instead of fulfilling their filial obligation. Traditional patterns of filial piety like looking after aged parents, accompanying and making them happy, or respecting parents were questioned by the young parents with different profession. The traditional perception of filial piety was tested by the younger generation in request for affection, reasonableness and legality (pp. 25-64).

2.2.2.4 Education

Traditionally, in an agricultural society, the opportunity for education was not provided for everyone. Basic knowledge and experience for survival were often passed from generation to generation within families. An experienced elder person had the authority to choose successor for the knowledge he or she learned. performance at home was judged not only by the parents or the elders within a family but also by a boss or a ruler in a society. Therefore, one's perception and behavior toward filial piety were essential throughout the lifetime (Ho, 1981; Yu, 1987). Since 1968, the nine-year compulsory education in Taiwan had provided increased opportunity for children age 7 to 15 for obtain formal education (The Education Bureau in Kaohsiung City, Republic of China, 1993, p. 9). From elementary to junior high school, education in Taiwan gradually became more accessible and affordable by the general public. Education was not a monopolization for the rich and the famous in a society. Parents in the older generation

were challenged in many ways by those in the younger generation owing to the different distribution of knowledge.

D. H. Yu (1987) also mentioned that education was another important factor regarding parental attitudes and expectations toward filial piety. Yu summarized the subjects' filial attitudes and behavior patterns in five categories - take primary care of parents' daily life, please parents and make them happy, accompany and greet parents day and night, respect parents' experience and knowledge, as well as not to disobey parents (pp. 36-49). One of the results in this study showed that the higher the subjects education, the more respect the subject had to his or her own parents. Married men or women with higher education tended to consult with and respect their parents' opinion more (p. 40). In addition, the higher the subject's education, the higher his or her own income. In this study, subjects' economic status were significantly related to their filial attitudes and behavior toward own parents. In this survey, those who had higher net family income were also the one more willing to display their filial piety toward their own parents in four of the five categories. Only the fifth, not to disobey parents, was not significantly related (p. 39). However, the more money the subjects provided to their parents, the less respect they had to their parents' experience or knowledge (p. 41). In addition, for those who were less-educational, worked as public servants or believed in folk religion, traditional perception or behavior toward filial piety were more likely to be persisted. While for those who had higher income or higher education, some traditional perception of filial piety were more likely to be challenge (pp. 44-45). However, according to the

second category of pleasing parents and making them happy, those who with higher education were more likely to talk to or compromise with the parents in consideration of their emotional or psychological needs (p. 48).

2.2.2.5 Family structure

Under the design of Confucian paradigm, family was the framework of all interpersonal relationship. In an agricultural society, family also provided a foundation for the traditional morality like filial piety. In Taiwan, several traditional family structure like the extended family or the stem family was changing (Chuang, 1981, pp. 26-27; Yang, 1991, pp. 22-27). D. H. Yu (1987, pp. 43-44) also investigated the relationships between the respondents' family structure and their filial behavior toward the parents. Only 17% of these married men and women lived in Taipei city were under the family structure of rotating-eating families. Another 30% of these subjects' parents were lived under the structure of stem family. There were also 14% of the subjects' parents lived with the single children alone. Only 4% of the respondents' parents resided separately in different children's houses. There was also 27% of these subjects' parents resided on their own. However, none of these subjects' parents were placed in the nursing home. Another research conducted by professor Chiung and associate showed that adult children generally preferred to live with their age parents. For the farmers in particular, there were 81.4% of them expected to live with their son(s) after retiring; only 12% of them rather

live on their own (Yu, 1987, pp. 56-57). However, only less than 50% of the respondents actually resided with their parents during Yu's investigation. Data also suggested that respondents who lived separately from their parents tended to show the least filial behavior than those who have the other arrangement for parents' primary care (p. 43). Although there was only 15% of the subjects lived under the structure of extended family, they were more willing to care for the parents physically (p. 47). Further research on the relationships between family structure and Taiwanese parents' filial behavior was needed.

2.3 Summary, conclusion and implications for this study

In this chapter, the related theories and research studies conducted by Chinese researchers regarding Taiwanese parents' attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety were reviewed. The literature and key findings in consideration of age, sex, occupation, education, family structure and rural-urban difference regarding childrearing among Taiwanese families were reviewed. The Confucian paradigm and the rituals regarding filial piety among Taiwanese families were presented. Several key findings regarding relationships between parents' occupation, education or family structure and their attitudes toward filial piety was also addressed.

Most of the literature reviewed in this chapter were written in Chinese in order to pay closer attention to chinese patterns of childrearing and filial piety. The theoretical

frameworks and the key findings introduced in this chapter were conducted by the Chinese researchers among Chinese families in Taiwan, Hong Kong or the United States. However, study regarding relationships between parental attitudes toward childrearing and toward filial piety was needed. Comparable data for parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety between generations among Taiwanese families was insufficient. Parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety among Taiwanese families in different communities deserve further attention.

In this study, with respect to both generations and genders, some empirical data regarding parental attitudes and expectations toward childrearing and filial piety between generations among Taiwanese families are provided. Further, by making comparisons of the two variables between the Taiwanese families in Taiwan and those in the United States, some comparable data are also provided.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Design of this Study

The purpose of this study was to examine parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety among Taiwanese families both in Taiwan and in the United States. Two key variables - parental attitudes toward childrearing and toward filial piety were selected. A survey was designed to examine the two key variables among Taiwanese families. Two populations were selected. The Taiwanese families with six-year-old children resided in Kaohsiung, Taiwan and in Massachusetts, U. S. A. were chosen. The six-year-old boys' fathers and paternal grandfathers were requested to fill out the survey. Meanwhile, the six-year-old girls' mothers and maternal grandmothers were asked to answer the same survey. By analyzing results of the survey, relationships between the two key variables within each generation was examined. Intergenerational comparisons between paternal grandfathers and fathers as well as maternal grandmothers and mothers regarding the two key variables were investigated. Further, by conducting the same survey both in Kaohsiung, Taiwan and in Massachusetts, U. S. A., the degrees of acculturation regarding the two key variables in the two populations were also discussed .

In the design of this survey, two attitudinal scales, one parental questionnaire and a background checklist were included. By using the same survey, both parents' and grandparents' attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety were examined homogeneously. In the first section of this survey, two attitudinal scales - the Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale were chosen. Both scales were originally written in Chinese or Cantonese for investigating among Chinese in Taiwan and in Hong Kong (Ho & Lee, 1974, pp. 305-306; Ho & Kang, 1984, pp. 1014-1016). Developed by Chinese researchers David Y. F. Ho and his colleague, the two scales reflected certain cultural values of Chinese childrearing and filial piety. By comparing the results of these two scales between generations, the similarities and dissimilarities regarding attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety between parents and grandparents among Taiwanese families were examined. In addition, the interrelations between Taiwanese parents' attitudes toward childrearing and toward filial piety were investigated. Finally, by comparing the results of the two scales between the two populations, the different degree of acculturation regarding parental attitudes toward Chinese childrearing and filial piety among Taiwanese families both in Taiwan and in the United States were also discussed.

In addition, a questionnaire was developed by the author to gather further information in relation to Taiwanese parents' and grandparents' perception of childrearing and filial piety. Inspired by several studies conducted by Chinese researchers (e.g., Chuang, 1972, 1976, 1981; Ho, 1981a, 1986; Ho & Kang, 1984; Wu, 1966, 1985a; Yu, 1987, 1991), ten subjects regarding childrearing and filial piety were included in this

section of this survey. Information including the average time spent, the most helpful person or the sleeping arrangement for the first child at different age as well as the family arrangement of the responsibility for the own parents or the essential elements to express filial piety to the parents were gathered in an open-ended form. Additional reference for studying Taiwanese parents' and grandparents' perception of childrearing and filial piety was provided. Finally, a background checklist was attached in the end of the survey. Subjects' background information like age, occupation, education, family structure, family income, religion or language at home were also gathered.

3.2 Hypotheses and research questions

In this study, two key dependent variables - parental attitudes toward childrearing and toward filial piety were chosen. For examining the similarities and dissimilarities of the two key variables between generations, this study was conducted among Taiwanese families both in Kaohsiung, Taiwan and in Massachusetts, U. S. A. By using survey as the research instrument, data regarding the two key variables in both populations were collected. The following hypotheses and research questions were proposed for this study.

1. When comparing subjects' response to the Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale between two generations, grandparents will be likely to score higher on both scales than parents in both populations.

2. Taiwanese parents in the United States will tend to score lower on both the Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale than those in Taiwan.
3. Parents or grandparents with higher education will tend to score lower on both the Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale than those with lower education in both populations.
4. The respondents' attitudes toward the two Scales will be different depending on their family structure in both populations.
5. The respondents' attitudes toward the two Scales will be different according to their occupation in both populations.
6. The respondents' attitudes toward the two Scales will be different relating to their religion in both populations.

3.3 Definition of terms

The following are the definitions of the specific terms used in this study for classification and explication:

1. *Extended family* --- a family structure which other than father, mother and children may also include sibling(s) of the father or the mother, sibling's family member(s), parent(s) of the father or the mother, or the other relative(s) all living in the same house.

2. *Rotating-eating families* --- a family structure which, after an extended family is divided, siblings and his/her family members take turns cooking daily meals as well as sharing the arranged responsibility for the aged or retired parents physically, emotionally and financially (Chuang, 1972, 1976, 1981).
3. *United families* --- a family structure in which parent(s) either live on their own or alone with the unmarried children. In the meantime, all of the children and their family members keep in contact with the parent(s) socially and financially (Chuang, 1972, 1976, 1981).
4. *Stem family* --- a family structure in which, after an extended family is divided, the parent(s) chose to live with one of the married children and his/her family members in the same house (Chuang, 1972, 196, 1981).
5. *Nuclear family* --- a family structure including father, mother or single children living independently in a house.
6. *Taiwanese family* --- a family in which at least two generations among family members, including parent(s), children or grandparent(s), were born in Taiwan. For a Taiwanese family in the United States, at least one generation among family members, including the parent(s), were born in Taiwan and now live in the United States.
7. *Potential Harmony and conflict between generations* --- in this study, the foundation for harmony between generations is indicated by a similar view between grandparents and parents regarding their attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety. On the other hand, potential conflict between generations is measured

by a dissimilar view between grandparents and parents according to their attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety.

3.4 Sample

In this study, two populations - the Taiwanese families with six-year-old children resided in Kaohsiung, Taiwan and in Massachusetts, U. S. A were selected. In each population, the paternal grandfathers and fathers of six-year-old boys were asked to answer the survey. Meanwhile, maternal grandmothers and mothers of six-year-old girls were requested to fill out the same survey. For the population in Massachusetts, U. S. A., the sample was chosen from Taiwanese families with six-year-old children attending the Chinese school programs at Chestnut Hill and Lexington in the Boston area. For the population in Kaohsiung, Taiwan, Three groups of respondents were selected. The first group was chosen among the parents and grandparents of 6-year-old children from two classes of a private kindergarten named Chi-Chi located in the central region of Kaohsiung city. The second group was selected among the parents and grandparents of six-year-old children from two classes of kindergartners and two classes of first graders of a public school called Bo-Ai in the San-Mei district of Kaoshiung city. Later, the third group of respondents was chosen among the parents and grandparents of children at age six from one class of kindergartners and four classes of first graders of a public school named Zan-Chan in the Chen-Jan district of Kaohsiung city.

Due to the difficulty of communicating with the grandparents in the US sample, only the parents of children at age six attending Chinese school programs were surveyed. There were 45 fathers and 49 mothers of the six-year-old children who received the survey in the Chinese school program at Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts in late April, 1993. Only two Taiwanese fathers and fourteen Taiwanese mothers completed the survey. Among the 59 fathers and 43 mothers surveyed in the Chinese school program at Lexington, Massachusetts in early May, 1993, only three Taiwanese fathers and nine Taiwanese mothers later returned the survey. Totally, five copies of the survey answered by Taiwanese fathers and twenty-three copies by Taiwanese mothers were gathered for the US sample (See Tables 3.1 & 3.2 for details).

For the Taiwanese sample, the survey was conducted from May to June, 1993. There were 16 copies returned by the fathers, 3 by the paternal grandfathers, 49 by the mothers and 4 by the maternal grandmothers from Chi-Chi kindergarten. There were 41 copies collected among the fathers, 13 among the paternal grandfathers, 92 among the mothers and 12 among the maternal grandmothers from Bo-Ai elementary school. Furthermore, 49 copies were gathered among the fathers, 12 among the paternal grandfathers, 76 among the mothers and 20 among the maternal grandmothers from Zan-Chan elementary school. Totally, there were 106 copies of the fathers, 28 of the paternal grandfathers, 217 of the mothers and 36 of the maternal grandmothers collected for the Taiwanese sample. Owing to few copies returned by grandfathers in the Taiwanese sample, another group of sample was added. The employee of Kaohsiung city government

with children at age six and their parents were chosen to answer the same survey in late June, 1993. There were 12 copies of the survey returned by five paternal grandfather - father pairs as well as one maternal grandmother - mother pair. Two weeks later, this group of people was retested for the same survey. Four pairs of the paternal grandfathers and fathers as well as one pair of the maternal grandmother and mother completed the retest. For the Taiwanese sample, there were 111 copies returned by the fathers, 33 by the paternal grandfathers, 218 by the mothers and 37 by the maternal grandmothers without the copies of retest. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 described the copies of survey sent and returned in details for both the Taiwanese and the US samples .

Table 3.1
Copies of Survey Sent for Both the Taiwanese and the US Samples

	Taiwanese Sample					US Sample		
	School A	School B	School C	GP-P Pairs	Total	Prog. A	Prog. B	Total
F	47	89	84	5	225	45	43	88
GF	10	28	24	5	67	-	-	-
M	48	62	82	1	193	49	59	108
GM	10	22	32	1	65	-	-	-
Total	115	201	222	12	550	94	102	196

Note. F = father; M = mother; GF = grandfather; GM = grandmother. Not K = the identity for the copy unknown.

School A = Chi-Chi Kindergarten; School B = Bo-Ai Elementary School; School C = Zan-Chan Elementary School; Program A = Chinese school program at Chestnut Hill; Program B = Chinese school program at Lexington.

Table 3.2**Copies of Survey Returned for Both the Taiwanese and the US Samples**

	Taiwanese Sample					US Sample		
	School A	School B	School C	GP-P Pairs	Total	Prog. A	Prog. B	Total
F	16	41	49	5	111	2	3	5
GF	3	13	12	5	33	-	-	-
M	49	92	76	1	218	14	9	23
GM	4	12	20	1	37	-	-	-
Not K	4	1	3	-	8	1	-	1
Total	76	159	160	12	407	17	12	29

For both the Taiwanese and the US samples in this study, participation was voluntary. The decision to participate or not was in no way prejudicial to any participant or child. No name, address or any identity of a participant was provided under any circumstance. Participants had the right to withdraw from part or all of this study at any time. Results of the survey were reviewed by the author and presented for the research only (See the cover letter of Parental Survey in Appendices A for further information regarding the use of human subjects). As a result, there were 29 copies of the survey gathered for the US sample. A total of 407 copies were collected for the Taiwanese sample.

3.5 Measuring instruments

In this study, a survey was designed to measure parental attitudes toward childrearing and toward filial piety for both the Taiwanese sample and the US sample. Three sections were developed for this survey. First, two attitudinal scales, the Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale, both designed by David Y. F. Ho and his colleague were adopted (Ho & Kang, 1984, pp. 1014-1016). There were 15 questions of the Child Training Scale; and 10 questions of the Filial Piety Scale. All questions of the two scales were listed as followed.

The Child Training Scale

1. In front of elderly people, children should be respectful, act properly, and remain quiet.
2. In teaching children, physical punishment shouldn't be used. (N)
3. When instructing young people, the older generation should not only point out what is right or wrong but also explain the reasons. (N)
4. Although they know relatively little, children should still have the opportunity to express their opinions. (N)
5. A student should develop in various areas and not devote all his time to books.(N)
6. From their early years, children should cultivate the spirit of independence and self-mastery. (N)
7. To prevent wrongful influence, parents can't allow children to choose their own

books to read.

8. In teaching children, attention should be paid to cultivating their creativity. (N)
9. when reprimanding children for wrongdoing, the older generation must, nevertheless, avoid hurting their self-respect. (N)
10. Young people don't know much and can't be allowed to do things according to their own ideas.
11. Children who observe rules in the way that adults do are the most praiseworthy.
12. One must be strict in disciplining children.
13. When children have something to ask, adults should answer their questions in order to satisfy their curiosity. (N)
14. One should keep one's promise to children in the way that one would to adults.(N)
15. On occasion, one may allow that children are noisy and don't sit still, if they are not destructive or disturbing others. (N)

The Filial Piety Scale

1. There is no place under the sun for both oneself and the enemy of one's father.
2. As a son or daughter, one does not necessarily have to respect the people respected by one's parents. (N)
3. Sons and daughters should not go to faraway places while their parents are still living.
4. To worship their ancestors on the proper occasions is the primary duty of sons and daughters.

5. To continue the family line is not the primary purpose of marriage. (N)
6. After the father has passed away, sons and daughters must conduct themselves according to the principles and attitudes he followed while he was living.
7. Sons and daughters must obey their parents no matter what.
8. If there is a quarrel between one's wife and one's mother, the husband should persuade his wife to listen to his mother.
9. In choosing a spouse, sons and daughters need not follow the parents' command.(N)
10. After children have grown up, the money they earn through their own labor may belong to themselves, even though their parents are still living. (N)

Instead of the 7-point Scale used by Ho and Kang (1984, p. 1007), the respondents' answers were rated differently in this study. From strongly disagree to strongly agree, the respondent's answers were rated from 0 to 6 for each question on both scales. On the Child Training Scale, questions 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 13, 14 and 15 were scored negatively on the reversed direction. Similar to the interpretation of Ho and Kang (1984, p. 1007), the higher the scores on the Child Training Scale, the more traditional a respondent's attitudes were toward childtraining. On the Filial Piety Scale, questions 2, 5, 9 and 10 were also scored negatively on the reversed direction. Therefore, the higher the scores on the Filial Piety Scale, the more traditional perception a respondent had toward filial piety. The reliability tests of both scales conducted by Ho and Kang were satisfactory.

Coefficient alpha (40) was .80 for the Child Training Scale; .81 for the original, 28-itemed Filial Piety Scale; and .67 for the modified, 10-itemed Filial Piety Scale used in this study (Ho & Kang, 1984, p.1007). Both scales were originally written in Chinese and conducted among Chinese populations. The two scales were then translated into English for the purpose of publication (Ho & Lee, 1974; Ho & Kang, 1984; also, see the English version of Parental Survey on the previous two pages). In this study, the Chinese version of the two scales were given to both the Taiwanese sample and the US sample for the consideration of validity (See the Chinese version of Parental Survey in section I of Appendix B for details). Developed by Chinese researchers and written in Chinese, the two scales in this study were surveyed among Taiwanese parents and grandparents within Chinese culture.

Second, a questionnaire was developed by the author to gather further information on parental perception of childrearing and filial piety for both the Taiwanese sample and the US sample. There were ten questions in this section. Questions 1 and 5 were adopted from the Parental Attitudes and Beliefs Questionnaire designed by Chinese researchers David Y. F. Ho and T. K. Kang (See questions 1 & 4 of Study 2, Ho & Kang, 1984, p. 1008). Questions 6 and 7 were revised from the Filial Attitude and Behavior Scale developed by D. H. Yu and associate in Taiwan (Yu, 1987, p.38 & pp. 43-44). Along with the other six questions designed by the author, this questionnaire was originally written in Chinese to avoid losing the cultural context of the questions (See Section II of the Chinese version of Parental Survey on Appendix B for details). The English version

of this questionnaire was then translated for presentation (See Section II of the English version of Parental Survey on Appendix A for details). The ten questions of this questionnaire were listed below:

The Parental Questionnaire

1. At what age I believe children begin to understand what parents say to them; begin to know what is right or wrong; or, need to be disciplined.
2. How much time did I spend to take care of my oldest child when he (she) was under 1 year of age; between age 1 to 3; between age 3 to 6; or, after age 6.
3. Who was the most helpful person other than myself when taking care of my oldest child before age 1; at age 1 - 3; at age 3 - 6; or, after age 6.
4. What was my oldest child's sleeping arrangement when he (she) was under 1 year of age; between age 1 to 3; between age 3 to 6; or, after age 6.
5. What is the most important personal characteristics I expect my child to have when he (she) grow up.
6. When my oldest child was 6 years old, at that time, by who and how my parents' primary care been taken of.
7. When my oldest child at age six, how much time did I spend with my own parents for the following items:
 - a. taken the primary care of my parents' daily life.
 - b. please them and make my parents happy.
 - c. keep them company and greet them daily.

- d. respect their knowledge and experience.
 - e. not to disobey my parents.
8. What do I believe is the most essential element for me to express filial piety to my own parents; or, to my parents-in-law.
9. When my oldest child was at age six, what were the three most important things I expect him or her to learn.
10. a. What will be my ideal living conditions after I am 60 years old.
- b. At that time, what will I expect the most from my child in the perspective of filial piety.

Finally, in the last section of this survey, a subjects' background checklist was designed by the author to gather information including age, occupation, education, birth order, family structure, marital status, health, family income, religion, place and length of residence, number and sex of children, as well as language at home, ancestor worship, special event and life stress. There were 14 questions in this section. All of the questions were written in Chinese first for both the Taiwanese sample and the US sample to avoid confusion of translation (See Section III of the Chinese version of Parental Survey in Appendix B for details). An English version of this section was then translated (See Section III of the Parental Survey in Appendix A). Along with a cover letter (See Cover Letter of Parental Survey in Appendices A & B for details), parental survey was sent to selected Taiwanese families for gathering information regarding parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety both in Taiwan and in the United States.

3.6 Procedures

First, for the US sample, two large Chinese school programs in eastern Massachusetts, one at Chestnut Hill, the other at Lexington, were selected in this study. The Chinese school program at Chestnut Hill (program A), located in a two-storied building rented from a local elementary school, provided Chinese classes as well as social or cultural activities to the families every Saturday during the school year. The Chinese school program at Lexington (program B), combined with the other curriculum including Bible study as well as various religious, social or educational events, took place every Sunday afternoon in a Chinese church. The Chinese classes were designed for children and youth age three and up in both programs. A class was usually held for 2-3 hours every Saturday or Sunday during the school year. Six Chinese classes with six-year-old children in program A were selected. The other six classes for children age six were chosen in program B as well. After getting the permission from each Chinese school principal, the survey was handed out to each student's parent via the teacher in each class. Owing to the difficulty of reaching a student's grandparent, only one package of the survey was sent to the father of a six-year-old boy or the mother of a girl at age six. One cover letter, a copy of parental survey with coded number and a self-addressed envelope for return were included in each package. The Chinese version of one package was given to each parent for this US sample (See Appendix A for the English version or Appendix B for the Chinese version of Parental Survey). Each parent was asked to put the completed survey in an attached envelope, seal up, then return to the teacher of each class or directly mail

back to the author. Among 45 packages sent to the fathers and 49 packages to the mothers, only 2 from the fathers and 15 from the mothers were returned for program A at Chestnut Hill. For program B at Lexington, 5 copies out of 43 from the fathers and 7 out of 59 from the mothers were completed. Only 7.95% returned for the fathers and 20.37% for the mothers for this US sample (See Table 3.1 & 3.2 for details).

Second, for the Taiwanese sample, the parents and grandparents of six-year-old children among families residing in the greater Kaohsiung area were selected by the author. Having a population over one million, Kaohsiung became the 14th special municipality of the Republic of China on July 1, 1979. The rapid growth of heavy and chemical industries along with the traditional fishing were the features of Kaohsiung's economy after 1953. Located in southern Taiwan, the Kaohsiung Harbor was one of the ten largest harbors in the world and ranked as the fourth largest ship container port in 1987 (Department of Information, Kaohsiung City Government, 1992). A total of 76 elementary schools and 138 kindergartens was located in Kaohsiung city in 1993. A total of 3774 classes with 176,186 students were estimated among 75 public and 1 private elementary schools. Among 138 kindergartens with a total of 22,098 students, only 54 kindergartens with 5626 students were municipal or subsidiary to the qualified public elementary schools. An estimated 30% of the entire city budget was allocated for education. For the 1993 school year, 40.23% of the educational budget was assigned to the elementary schools and only 0.32% was to the kindergartens (The Education Bureau, Kaohsiung City Government, 1993, pp. 68-71).

Three schools were chosen for the Taiwanese sample of this study. First, a private kindergarten called Chi-Chi (School A), located in the San-Mei district of central Kaohsiung, was surveyed. Second, a public school called Bo-Ai (School B) was also investigated in the same San-Mei district. Finally, one public school called Zan-Chan (School C), resided in the Chen-Jan district of southern Kaohsiung, was selected. In school A, three classes with 94 six-year-old children were chosen by the president. In school B, two classes of kindergartners and two classes of the first graders were assigned by the principal. Four classes of first graders and one class of kindergartners were also selected in school C. Two packages of the survey were handed out to each parent by the teacher of each class. One package for a six-year-old child's parent, the other for the child's grandparent to fill out. For a boy, his father and the paternal grandfather were asked to answer the survey independently. For a girl, her mother and the maternal grandmother were requested to fill out the survey separately. The Chinese version of the Parental Survey and the same Survey for Grandparent were given (See Appendices A & B for details). Due to the limitation of time and availability, only the grandparents residing in the greater Kaohsiung area were surveyed. A survey was returned first to the teacher in each class then to the author. Owing to the small number of them were returned from the grandparents, an additional group of 6 grandparent-parent pairs among government employee with six-year-old children were surveyed. A total of 407 copies was returned to the author for this Taiwanese sample (See Tables 3.1 & 3.2 for complete details).

3.7 Data collection and analysis

After conducting the survey for both the Taiwanese sample and the US sample, the subjects' responses were then coded. First, for the two attitudinal scales in the first section of the survey, the subjects were asked to mark an "X " on the line to express how they felt and what they thought about each question (See section I of Appendices A & B for details). The subjects' answers were then recorded by the author on a 6-point Likert scale. From strongly disagree on the left (Code number = 0) to strongly agree on the right (Code number = 6), each line was equally divided into six sections for recording each subject's response. Score 1 meant a subject scored more than 0 and smaller than or equal to 1 on the first section of the line. Similarly, score 2 showed a subject marked his or her answer greater than 1 and smaller than or equal to 2 on the second section of the line. However, with a mid-point of 3, score 3 indicted a subject marked an answer greater than 2 and smaller than or equal to 3 on the third section of the line. For scores 4, 5, and 6, the similar way of coding were used. Later, the negative items on both scales were scored in the opposite direction indicated by an (N) in the end of each question (See the Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale on previous Section 3.5 of this Chapter for details). For questions 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 17, 20, 24 and 25 of section I on this survey, score 0 was recoded to 6; 1 to 5; and 2 to 4. As a result, similar to Ho and Kang's design (Ho & Kang, 1984, p.1007), in this study, a higher score on a question of the Child Training Scale indicated the more traditional attitudes of a subject toward childtrainig regarding that question; a higher score on a question of the Filial Piety Scale

showed the more traditional perception of a subject toward filial piety regarding that particular question.

Second, for section II of this survey, the subjects were asked to write down what they think from their own experience or what they expect for the future on the blank for each question (See Section II of Appendices A & B for details). The subjects' responses were then coded by the author to gather further information on childrearing and filial piety. Third, for section III of this survey, the subjects' background information were also coded by the author. By using the same coding system designed by the author for both the Taiwanese sample and the US sample, data was collected and then ready to be tested for the proposed hypotheses.

For the first and second hypotheses of this study (See Section 3.2 of this chapter for details), one-way analysis of variance was used to find out the difference of means on each scale between the two generations or between the Taiwanese and the US samples. After analysis of variance, multiple range test was applied to search for the significant difference of means on each scale between generations or samples. For the individual item on each scale, significant difference of means between generations or samples was detected by using t-test after analysis of variance. Therefore, hypothesis 1 and 2 of this study that the grandparents were likely to score higher than the parents in the Taiwanese sample; and that the parents in the Taiwanese sample were likely to score higher than the Taiwanese parents in the US sample on each scale were tested.

For the third hypothesis of this study, correlation coefficient and one-way analysis of variance were used to analyze the relationships between the subjects' education and their scores on each scale. Therefore, hypothesis 3 that the subjects with higher education were tend to score lower than those with less education on each scale was tested for both the Taiwanese and the US samples. For hypotheses 4, 5, and 6, one-way analyses of variance were applied to test the differences of means on each scale regarding the subjects' family structure, occupation and religion for both the Taiwanese and the US samples. In addition, for analyzing the relationships between parental attitudes toward the Child Training Scale and toward the Filial Piety Scale, correlation coefficients between means on the two scales were also tested for each sample group.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

According to the hypotheses and research questions proposed in chapter three, the results of this study will be presented under six topics. First, parental attitudes toward the Child Training Scale and toward the Filial Piety Scale will be compared between the generations. Second, parental attitudes toward the two scales will also be compared between the Taiwanese and US samples. Third, the relationships between education and parental attitudes on the two scales will then be examined. Fourth, parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety will be tested according to their family structure. Fifth, parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety will be examined depending on their occupation. Finally, the two key variables of this study will be investigated relating to their religion. In addition to the proposed hypotheses, the relationships between parental attitudes toward childrearing and toward filial piety within each generation will also be discussed.

4.1 Parental Attitudes toward the Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale between Generations

It was hypothesized that the grandparents would score higher than the parents on both the Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale. Table 4.1 and Table 4.2 present the means and standard deviations for grandfathers, grandmothers, fathers and mothers in Taiwan as well as Taiwanese fathers and mothers in the United States on the Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale, respectively. On both scales, grandmothers in Taiwan had the highest mean score among all six sample groups. On the other hand, Taiwanese mothers in the United States had the lowest mean score on both scales. On the Child Training Scale in the Taiwanese sample, the grandfathers' mean score was higher than the fathers' (2.12 for the grandfathers and 2.07 for the fathers in Taiwan); and the mean score of the grandmothers, 2.25, was also higher than that for the mothers', 2.03. Similarly on the Filial Piety Scale between generations in Taiwan, the paternal grandfathers' mean score of 3.05 was higher than the fathers', 3.01; and the maternal grandmothers' mean score, 3.31, was higher than the mothers', 2.90. All of these trends were in the predicted direction.

Using a one-way analysis of variance, the comparison between groups on both the Filial Piety Scale and on the Child Training Scale were highly significant (FP Scale: $f = 7.66$, $p < .001$; CT Scale: $f = 2.74$, $p < .05$). On the Filial Piety Scale, Table 4.3 showed the t values and probabilities for the five contrast groups. Similarly, Table 4.4 presented

the multiple range test results for the six sample groups on the Filial Piety Scale. Two significant differences were found between the grandparents and parents in the Taiwanese sample. First, the difference between the means for the maternal grandmothers and the mothers in the Taiwanese sample was significant, $t = 3.82$, $p < .001$. Second, the grandparents' mean score was significantly higher than those of parents in the Taiwanese sample, $t = 2.74$, $p < .01$. On the Child Training Scale, Table 4.5 presented the results of the same contrast groups comparisons calculated after the analysis of variance for means of the Child Training Scale. Although the results were in the predicted direction, the difference between the grandparents' mean score and those of the parents in the Taiwanese sample was not significant.

As a result, comparisons between generations in the Taiwanese sample indicted that the grandparents' mean scores were higher than those of the parents' on both the Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale. The difference of means between the two generations in the Taiwanese sample was highly significant on the Filial Piety Scale but not significant on the Child Training Scale. Therefore, the hypothesis for the grandparents to score higher than the parents on both the Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale was only partially supported.

Table 4.1

Means and Standard Deviations of the Child Training Scale among All Six Sample Groups

GROUP	(COUNT)	MEAN	SD
T F in US	(5)	1.83	0.35
T M in US	(23)	1.80	0.51
T F	(111)	2.07	0.49
T M	(215)	2.03	0.47
T GF	(33)	2.12	0.59
T GM	(35)	2.25	0.67

Note. The range for mean scores of the Child Training Scale was from 0 to 6.

T F in US = Taiwanese fathers in the US sample; T M in US = Taiwanese mothers in the US sample; T F = fathers in the Taiwanese sample; T M = mothers in the Taiwanese sample; T GF = grandfathers in the Taiwanese sample; T GM = grandmothers in the Taiwanese sample.

Table 4.2

Means and Standard Deviations of the Filial Piety Scale among All Six Sample Groups

GROUP	(COUNT)	MEAN	SD
T F in US	(5)	2.54	0.47
T M in US	(23)	2.42	0.62
T F	(111)	3.01	0.56
T M	(215)	2.90	0.59
T GF	(33)	3.05	0.62
T GM	(36)	3.31	0.59

Note. The range for mean scores of the Filial Piety Scale was from 0 to 6.

The full name of the six sample groups were the same as those described on Table 4.1.

Table 4.3

Comparison of Means on the Filial Piety Scale for the Five Contrast Groups after Analysis of Variance

Contrast Groups	T Value	T Probability
T GF vs T F vs TF/US	2.226	.080
T GM vs T M vs TM/US	4.919	.000***
T GP vs T P	2.738	.007**
T P vs TP/US	3.722	.005**
T GM vs T M	3.819	.000***

Note. $f = 7.6633$. f probability = .0000.

Separate variance estimate for t value was used. ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

TF/US = Taiwanese fathers in the US sample; TM/US = Taiwanese mothers in the US sample; T GP = grandparents in the Taiwanese sample; T P = parents in the Taiwanese sample; TP/US = Taiwanese parents in the US sample.

Table 4.4

Multiple Range Test after Analysis of Variance between the Means on the Filial Piety Scale for the Six Sample Groups

Mean	Group	US M	US F	T M	T F	T GF	T GM
2.42	TM/US						
2.54	TF/US						
2.90	T M	*					
3.01	T F	*					
3.05	T GF	*					
3.31	T GM	*		*			

Note. * $p < .05$.

Both US M and TM/US = Taiwanese mothers in the US sample; both US F and TF/US = Taiwanese fathers in the US sample.

Table 4.5

Comparison of Means on the Child Training Scale for the Five Contrast Groups after Analysis of Variance

Contrast Groups	T Value	T Probability
T GF vs T F vs TF/US	1.564	.178
T GM vs T M vs TM/US	2.820	.008**
T GP vs T P	1.743	.085
T P vs TP/US	2.333	.043*
T GM vs T M	1.957	.057

Note. $f = 2.7402$. f probability = .0189.

Separate variance estimate for t value was used. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

The full name of each contrast groups were the same as described on Table 4.3.

According to the design of this study, the higher the scores on the Child Training Scale or the Filial Piety Scale, the more traditional attitudes toward childrearing or filial piety were indicated. In average, the paternal grandfathers' attitudes toward the two scales were more traditional than those of the fathers in the Taiwanese sample. However, the maternal grandmothers' attitudes toward the two scales were significantly more traditional than those of the mothers in the Taiwanese sample. Individual item t -tests between generations in the Taiwanese sample showed that only the maternal grandmothers' mean score, 3.38, on question 6 of the Filial Piety Scale were significantly higher than those of the mothers, 2.52 ($t = 3.03$, $p < .05$). In another word, the grandmothers agreed significantly more with succeeding the deceased father's principles as sons' or daughters' duty than the mothers in the Taiwanese sample.

4.2 Parental Attitudes toward the Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale between the Taiwanese and US samples

It was hypothesized that the Taiwanese parents in the United States would score lower than the parents in Taiwan on both scales. On the Child Training Scale, Table 4.1 showed that the fathers' mean score in the Taiwanese sample was higher than those of the Taiwanese fathers in the US sample (2.07 for the fathers in Taiwan and 1.83 for the Taiwanese fathers in the United States). Similarly, the mothers' mean score on the Child Training Scale, 2.03, was also higher than those of the Taiwanese mothers in the United States, 1.80. On the Filial Piety Scale, the mean score of the fathers in the Taiwanese sample, 3.01, was higher than that of the Taiwanese fathers in the US sample, 2.54. Mean score of the mothers in Taiwan, 2.90, was also higher than those of the Taiwanese mothers in the United States, 2.42 on the FP scale. All of these trends were also in the predicted direction.

Results of a one-way analysis of variance showed that the comparisons of means between groups on both scales were highly significant ($f = 7.66$, $p < .001$ on the FP Scale; $f = 2.74$, $p < .05$ on the CT Scale). On the Filial Piety Scale, Table 4.3 showed that mean score of the parents in the Taiwanese sample was significantly higher than that of the Taiwanese parents in the United States ($t = 3.72$, $p < .01$). The comparison of means among the three groups, the maternal grandmothers and the mothers in the Taiwanese sample as well as the Taiwanese mothers in the US sample, was highly

significant ($t = 4.92, p < .001$). Similarly, significant differences were found between the mean of the Taiwanese mothers in the US sample and those of the grandmothers, grandfathers, fathers and mothers in the Taiwanese sample on the Filial Piety Scale (See Table 4.4). On the Child Training Scale, Table 4.5 showed that mean score of the parents in the Taiwanese sample was significantly higher than those of the Taiwanese parents in the US sample ($t = 2.33, p < .05$). The comparison of means among the grandmothers, mothers in the Taiwanese sample and the Taiwanese mothers in the US sample was also significant ($t = 2.82, p < .01$). In addition, mean score of the Taiwanese mothers in the US sample was also significantly different from those of the grandmothers in the Taiwanese sample.

As a result, the comparisons between the Taiwanese and the US samples revealed that the parents in the Taiwanese sample scored significantly higher than the Taiwanese parents in the US sample on both the Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale. Therefore, the second hypothesis that the parents in Taiwan would score higher than the Taiwanese parents in the United States on both scales was highly supported.

In another word, the parents' attitudes toward both the Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale in the Taiwanese sample were significantly more traditional than those of the Taiwanese parents in the US sample. In addition, individual item t-tests between parents of the Taiwanese sample and the US sample for the two scales indicated several significant differences. For the Child Training Scale, the parents' mean score, 2.27, on question 15 in the Taiwanese sample was significantly higher than those of the

Taiwanese parents in the US sample, 1.26 ($t = 3.92, p < .01$). Therefore, the parents in the Taiwanese sample significantly less agreed with allowing children to be noisy and not sit still while not disturbing others than the Taiwanese parents in the US sample. For the Filial Piety Scale, significant differences were found regarding the parents' attitudes toward questions 1, 6, and 10 (See Table 4.6). Interestingly, the parents in the Taiwanese sample significantly more disagreed than the Taiwanese parents in the US sample with the perception of no compromise between oneself and the enemy of one's father ($p < .05, t = -3.15$). For the idea of having sons or daughters following the deceased fathers' principle, the parents' in the Taiwanese sample less disagreed significantly than the Taiwanese parents in the US sample ($t = 3.34, p < .05$). In addition, the parents in Taiwan less agreed significantly than the Taiwanese parents in the US sample regarding the ownership of adult children's earning while the parents still alive ($t = 4.46, p < .01$).

Table 4.6

Means and Standard Deviations of Each Items on the Filial Piety Scale between Parents in the Taiwanese Sample and the Taiwanese Parents in the US Sample

	F + M in Taiwan		T F + T M in US	
	M	SD	M	SD
FPQMEAN**	2.94	0.58	2.44	0.59
FPQ1*	1.71	1.54	2.68	1.55
FPQ2 (N)	3.83	1.66	2.95	1.52
FPQ3	2.76	1.48	2.13	1.47
FPQ4	4.89	1.18	4.02	1.48
FPQ5 (N)	1.96	1.54	1.30	1.32
FPQ6*	2.54	1.41	1.89	0.92
FPQ7	2.94	1.43	2.38	1.20
FPQ8	3.06	1.52	2.37	1.31
FPQ9 (N)	2.95	1.44	3.02	1.64
FPQ10 (N)**	2.76	1.45	1.57	1.35

Note. Negative items were scored in the reversed direction indicated by an (N).

** $p < .01$, $t = 3.72$ for the comparison of means on the Filial Piety Scale for the parents in the Taiwanese sample and the Taiwanese parents in the US sample after analysis of variance.

Two-tailed t-tests were used for means of each items on the Filial Piety Scale between the two groups. Significant differences were found in the results of FPQ1 and FPQ6,

* $p = .003/10 < .05$, $t = -3.15$ and * $p = .002/10 < .05$, $t = 3.34$, respectively; as well as the result of FPQ10, ** $p = .000/10 < .01$, $t = 4.46$.

4.3 Relationships between Education and Parental Attitudes toward the Child Training Scale or the Filial Piety Scale

It was hypothesized that the respondents with higher educational level would score lower in both scales. For all five groups analyzed in this study, the mean scores on the Child Training Scale were negatively correlated with the educational level of the respondents (See Table 4.7 for correlation coefficients). Due to the small size of the group of Taiwanese fathers in the United States, the correlation coefficients were not computed between education and the two scales for this group. Two of these correlation coefficients were significant. The relationship between education and the CT Scale for the mothers in the Taiwanese sample was significantly and negatively correlated ($r = -.202, p < .01$). Similarity for the fathers in the Taiwanese sample, education was negatively correlated with the CT Scale at the .05 level ($r = -.200$). For four of the five groups, the mean scores on the Filial Piety Scale were also negatively correlated with the educational level of the respondents (See Table 4.6 for correlation coefficients as well). Two of these correlation coefficients were significant. The relationship between education and the FP Scale for the fathers in the Taiwanese sample was significantly correlated ($r = -.321, p < .01$). For the grandfathers in the Taiwanese sample, education was also negatively correlated with the FP Scale at the .01 level ($r = -.471$). However, for the grandmothers in the Taiwanese sample, education and the FP Scale was positively correlated at the .05 level ($r = .450$). For those grandmothers in the Taiwanese sample, 6 of the 25 respondents had no formal education, 15 of them had some elementary school education, and only 4 of the

respondents entered the senior high schools. Table 4.8 displayed the distribution of means on the FP Scale as related to education for all six groups. As can be seen, the relationship between scores for filial piety and educational level is not linear. The negative correlation is evident only among those with 12 or more years of education in the Taiwanese sample. For the grandmothers, fathers and mothers in the Taiwanese sample, respondents with 12 years of senior high school education scored the highest on the FP Scale. On the other hand, respondents with graduate school education scored the lowest on the FP Scale for three of the five groups. Only the grandfathers and the grandmothers in Taiwan did not have respondents with graduate school education. For the grandfathers in the Taiwanese sample, those with 16 years of university education, scored the lowest on the FP Scale. For the grandmothers in the Taiwanese sample, their educational level were much lower than the other four groups. Interestingly, up to the level of senior high school, the higher the respondents' education, the higher the mean of Filial Piety Scale (See Figure 4.1). This finding deserves further explanation. Although the trend was toward the predicted direction, the grandmothers' mean scores on the FP Scale were positively correlated with their education from none to senior high school.

Using analysis of variance, only one of the five groups showed a significant difference on the Filial Piety Scale as a function of education. For the fathers in Taiwan, the variance between means of the Filial Piety Scale and education was significant ($p < .05$). The mean scores between the fathers with 12 years of senior high school education and those with 16 years of university education were significantly different at the .05 level on the FP Scale (See Table 4.8 for analysis of variance). On the Child Training

Scale, the same test was also computed for the five sample groups (See Table 4.9 for analysis of variance). For the mothers in Taiwan, a one-way analysis of variance between means of the CT Scale and education was also significant ($p < .05$). Similarly, the mean scores between the mothers with 12 years of senior high school education and those with 16 years of university education were significantly different at the .05 level on the CT Scale. For the other four groups, analysis of variance between means of the CT Scale and education were not significant.

Test results revealed that the respondents' educational level and their scores on the two scales were negatively correlated for the five sample groups except for the grandmothers in the Taiwanese sample on the Filial Piety Scale. The correlation coefficients between education and the Child Training Scale scores for the fathers and the mothers in Taiwan were significant. In addition, the relationships between education and the Filial Piety Scale scores were significant for the fathers and the grandfathers in Taiwan. Due to the small size of the group of Taiwanese fathers in the United States, the correlation coefficients were not computed. Although all the trends were toward the predicted direction, mean scores on the Filial Piety Scale and education for the grandmothers in the Taiwanese sample was significantly and positively correlated. Therefore, the hypothesis that the higher the respondents' educational level, the lower their scores on the two scales was only partially supported.

Table 4.7

Correlations between Means on the Child Training Scale or Means on the Filial Piety Scale and Education for the Six Sample Groups

GROUP	CTQMEAN & EDUC <i>r</i>	FPQMEAN & EDUC <i>r</i>
T F in US	.	.
T M in US	- .4195	- .2456
T F	- .1995*	- .3210**
T M	- .2019**	- .0455
T GF	- .3561	- .4712**
T GM	- .2303	+ .4495*

Note. " . " Printed if a coefficient cannot be computed. Two-tailed tests of significance were used. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 4.8

Comparison of Means on the Filial Piety Scale for the Five Sample Groups with Different Educational Level after Analyses of Variance

Education	T GF Mean	T F Mean	T GM Mean	T M Mean	T M in US Mean
None	3.30	-	3.11	-	-
6 Ys E S	3.28	3.13	3.29	2.71	2.70
9 Ys J H	2.83	3.17	-	2.86	2.70
12 Ys S H	3.05	3.40	3.94	3.12	2.60
12 Ys C	3.10	2.95	-	2.85	-
14 Ys C	2.53	2.96	-	2.81	3.00
16 Ys U	2.20	2.70	-	2.79	2.46
>16 Ys GS	-	2.58	-	2.50	2.25
Total	2.99	2.99*	3.35	2.87	2.41

Note. * $p < .05$.

$f = 2.7652$, f probability = .0161 for the fathers in the Taiwanese sample.

Table 4.9

Comparison of Means on the Child Training Scale for the Five Sample Groups with Different Educational Level after Analyses of Variance

Education	T GF Mean	T F Mean	T GM Mean	T M Mean	T M in US Mean
None	1.96	-	2.31	-	-
6 Ys E S	2.45	2.47	2.52	2.06	2.20
9 Ys J H	1.90	2.24	-	2.10	1.90
12 Ys S H	1.97	1.98	1.86	2.16	2.47
12 Ys C	2.32	1.93	-	2.09	-
14 Ys C	1.69	2.09	-	1.87	2.57
16 Ys U	1.20	2.08	-	1.76	1.84
>16 Ys GS	-	1.58	-	2.08	1.56
Total	2.07	2.06	2.36	2.03*	1.78

Note. * $p < .05$.

$f = 2.4084$, f probability = .0293 for the mothers in the Taiwanese sample.

Table 4.10**Education of the Respondents in Both the Taiwanese Sample and the US Sample**

EDUCATION	TAIWANESE SAMPLE (Percentage)	US SAMPLE (Percentage)
None	9 (2.2%)	-
6 Ys Elementary S	44 (10.8%)	1 (3.4%)
9 Ys Junior High S	52 (12.8%)	1 (3.4%)
12 Ys Senior High S	48 (11.8%)	1 (3.4%)
12 Ys College	80 (19.7%)	-
14 Ys College	54 (13.3%)	1 (3.4%)
16 Ys University	39 (9.6%)	7 (24.1%)
> 16 Ys Graduate S	6 (1.5%)	16 (55.2%)
Missing	75 (18.4%)	2 (6.9%)
Total	407 (100.0%)	29 (100.0%)

Table 4.11**Education of the Respondents for the Six Sample Groups**

EDUC	T GF (%)	T F (%)	TF / US (%)	T GM (%)	T M (%)	TM / US (%)
None	3 (10.3%)	-	-	6 (24.0%)	-	-
6 Ys E	9 (31.0%)	5 (5.0%)	-	15 (60.0%)	15 (8.5%)	1 (4.5%)
9 Ys JH	4 (13.8%)	17 (17.0%)	-	-	31 (17.6%)	1 (4.5%)
12Ys SH	2 (6.9%)	12 (12.0%)	-	4 (16.0%)	29 (16.5%)	1 (4.6%)
12 Ys C	4 (13.8%)	26 (26.0%)	-	-	50 (28.4%)	-
14 Ys C	6 (20.7%)	19 (19.0%)	-	-	29 (16.5%)	1 (4.6%)
16 Ys U	1 (3.5%)	17 (17.0%)	-	-	20 (11.4%)	7 (31.8%)
>16 GS	-	4 (4.0%)	5 (100.0%)	-	2 (1.1%)	11 (50.0%)
Total	29 (100.0%)	100 (100.0%)	5 (100.0%)	25 (100.0%)	176 (100.0%)	22 (100.0%)

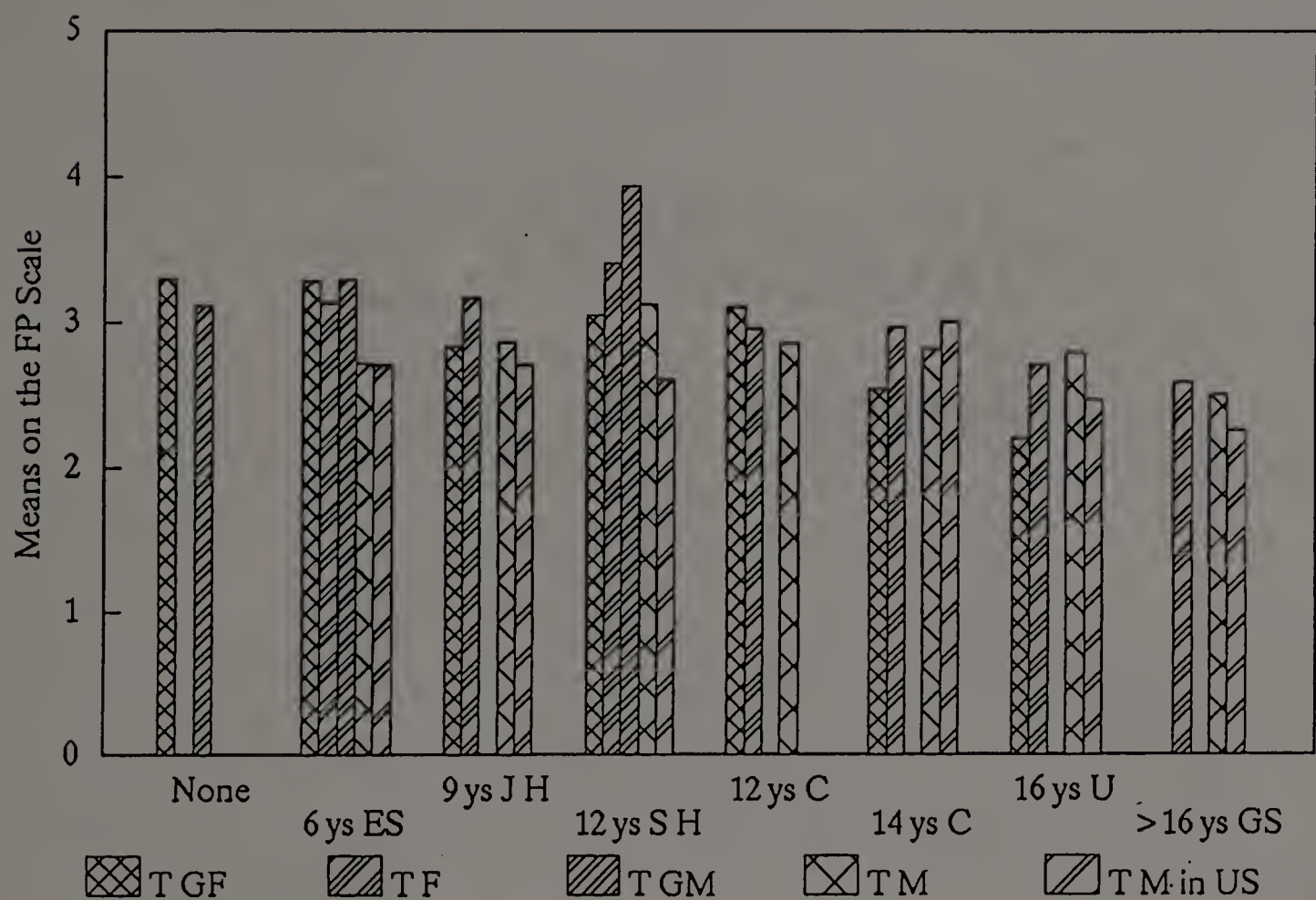


Figure 4.1
Mean Scores on the Filial Piety Scale as a Function of Education for the Five Sample Groups

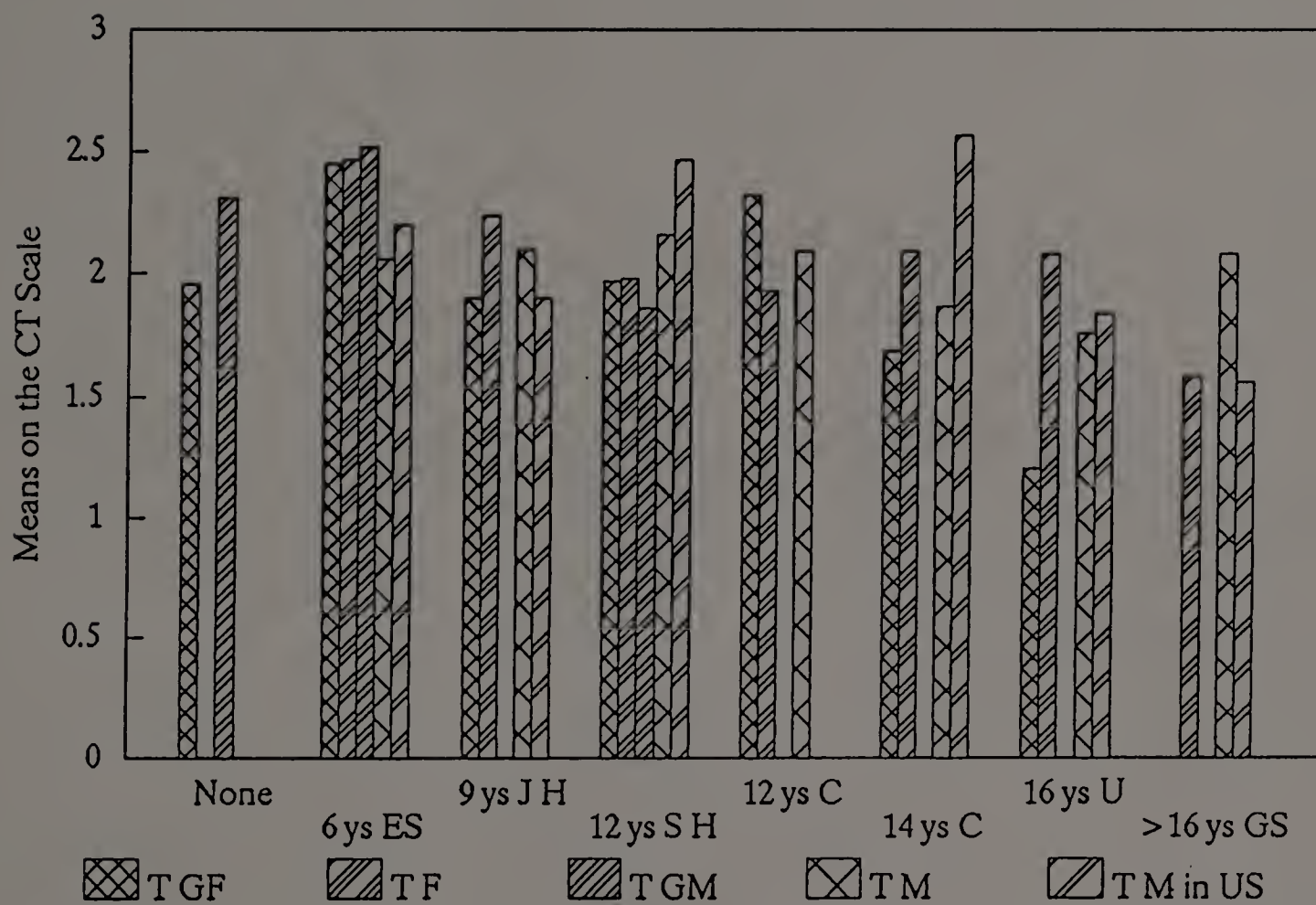


Figure 4.2
Mean Scores on the Child Training Scale as a Function of Education for the Five Sample Groups

4.4 Family Structure and Parental Attitudes toward the Child Training Scale or the Filial Piety Scale

It was hypothesized that the respondents' attitudes toward childrearing or filial piety would be different as a function of their family structure. In this study, the respondents' family structure was first divided into 8 categories by the author for both the Taiwanese and the US samples. Table 4.12 showed that 186 of the 407 respondents in Taiwan and 19 of the 29 in the US sample were coded into the structure of nuclear family. A family with both parents and their single children living together was the most common arrangement in both samples. Only a small number of the respondents in Taiwan lived in a small family without the spouse, 9 of the 407; or without the single children, 11 of the 407. Similarly in the US sample, 3 out of the 29 respondents lived in a small family without the spouse; and none of them lived without the single children. The second most common living arrangement in the Taiwanese sample was that the grandparent(s) lived with one married son's family. 66 of the 407 respondents in Taiwan were under the structure of stem family with son. In the US sample, 3 of the 23 mothers reported living with their own parent(s); only 1 of the 5 fathers resided with his parent(s). The third common living arrangement in the Taiwanese sample was a nuclear family living together with one relative's family in the same house. 37 out of the 407 respondents in Taiwan were under the structure of an extended family with one relative's family. On the other hand, 2 of the 29 respondents in the US sample also reported living with one relative's family. In addition, 21 of the 407 respondents in Taiwan lived under the structure of a

stem family with a daughter's family. Further, in the Taiwanese sample, 12 of the 407 respondents were living with the single relative(s) other than the spouse and single children. Another 10 of the 407 respondents resided together with two or more family of the kin in the same house. In the US sample, none of the 29 respondents was living with single relative(s) or with two or more kin's families together. 55 of the 407 respondents' answers regarding the living arrangement were missing in the Taiwanese sample. Only 1 of the 29 respondents in the US sample did not answer the same question.

By using one-way analyses of variance, mean scores on the two scales according to the family structure of the respondents both in the Taiwanese and the US samples were examined. At first, family structure in the eight categories was computed for the respondents in the Taiwanese and the US samples. In the Taiwanese sample, only difference of means on question 2 of the CT Scale regarding the use of physical punishment for teaching children was significant ($p < .05$, $f = 2.45$). Table 4.13 showed that significant differences were found between the respondents categorized in the structure of a small family without single children and those in the other five family structures; an extended family with more than 2 kin's families, a nuclear family with single relative, a stem family with one daughter's family, a stem family with one son's family, as well as a nuclear family. The answers of this question were scored in the reversed direction. The respondents who lived in a small family without single children, most of them were grandparents, agreed strongly on using physical punishment for teaching children (mean score = 3.91). On the other hand, the respondents who lived in

an extended family with more than two kin's families disagreed strongly regarding the same issue (mean score = 1.95). For the US sample, comparisons of means on the two scales according to the respondents' family structure in the eight categories were not significant.

For further data analysis, the respondents' family structure was grouped by the author into the three categories for both the Taiwanese and the US samples. The respondents who lived in a small family either without the spouse or without the single children were grouped together with those who resided with both the spouse and the single children into the category of *a nuclear family with or without the spouse* (N F w/n S). The respondents categorized in the structure of that the grandparent(s) and one son's family lived together and those in that the grandparent(s) resided with one daughter's family were grouped together into the category of *a stem family with one son's or one daughter's family* (S+D ST F). Furthermore, the respondents who lived in a nuclear family together with single relative(s) or with one or more kin's families in the same house were categorized into the category of *an extended family with or without the grandparent(s)* (EX F w/n GP). Table 4.14 presented the respondents' family structure in the three categories for all six groups. In the Taiwanese sample, a total of 206 respondents categorized in the structure of a nuclear family with or without spouse; 87 of the respondents were in the structure of a stem family with one son's or one daughter's family; and 58 of them were in the structure of an extended family with or without the grandparent(s). In the US sample, the biggest group was in the category of a nuclear

family with or without the spouse (22 of the 28 respondents); followed by that of a stem family with one son's or one daughter's family (4 of the 28); and that of an extended family with or without the grandparents (2 of the 28).

Further analyses of variance for means on the two Scales regarding the respondents' family structure in the three categories were computed for the two samples. Only one significant difference was found in the US sample on question 13 of the CT Scale considering attitudes toward satisfying children's curiosity ($p < .05$, $f = 4.85$). The answers to this question were scored in the reversed direction. Table 4.15 showed that comparison of means between the two groups were significantly different at the .05 level. The respondents who lived in a stem family (with one son's or one daughter's family) agreed significantly stronger than those in an extended family (with or without the grandparents) regarding satisfying children's curiosity. Therefore, the hypothesis that the respondents' attitudes toward childrearing and expectations would be different according to their family structure was only partially supported.

Table 4.12**Family Structure of the Respondents in both the Taiwanese and the US Samples**

FAMILY STRUCTURE (Family Members)	TAIWANESE SAMPLE (Percentage)	US SAMPLE (Percentage)
Small F without Spouse (Single P + C)	9 (2.2%)	3 (10.3%)
Small F with Spouse (F + M)	11 (2.7%)	-
Nuclear Family (F+M+C)	186 (45.7%)	19 (65.5%)
Nuclear F with Relative (F + M + C + R)	12 (2.9%)	-
Stem Family with Son (GP + F + M + C)	66 (16.2%)	1 (3.4%)
Stem F with Daughter (MGP + F + M + C)	21 (5.2%)	3 (10.3%)
Extended F with one F (M/GP+F+M+C+1R's F)	37 (9.1%)	2 (6.9%)
Extended F with ≥ 2 F (M/GP+F+M+C+ ≥ 2 R'F)	10 (2.5%)	-
Missing	55 (13.5%)	1 (3.4%)
TOTAL	407 (100.0%)	29 (100.0%)

Table 4.13

Means and Standard Deviations Regarding Physical Punishment in Teaching Children for the Eight Family Structure Groups in the Taiwanese Sample

CTQ2(N)	(COUNT)	MEAN	SD	MIN	MAX
S F N S	(9)	2.44	1.74	0.00	5.00
S F W S	(11)	3.91	1.64	1.00	6.00
N F	(179)	2.63	1.27	0.00	5.00
N F W R	(11)	2.09	1.53	0.00	4.50
S ST F	(64)	2.45	1.29	0.00	5.00
D ST F	(21)	2.31	1.40	0.00	6.00
EX F(1 F)	(36)	2.56	1.26	0.00	4.50
EX F(>=2)	(10)	1.95	0.93	1.00	3.00
TOTAL	(341)	2.57	1.33	0.00	6.00

Note. This question was scored in the reversed direction.

There were five pairs of groups significantly different at .05 level. It were between the group of small families with spouse and the groups of extended families (with more than one other family), nuclear families with relatives, stem families (with daughter's family), stem families (with son's family), as well as nuclear family.

$f = 2.4497$, * $p < .05$.

Table 4.14**Family Structure of the Respondents for Different Sex Groups in Both Samples**

	Taiwanese Sample (Percentage)					US Sample (Percentage)		
	F	M	GF	GM	Row Total	F	M	Row Total
N F w/n S	67 (64.4)	120 (62.8)	9 (32.1)	10 (35.7)	206 (58.7)	4 (80.0)	18 (78.3)	22 (78.6)
S + D ST F	19 (18.3)	41 (21.5)	14 (50.0)	13 (46.4)	87 (24.8)	1 (20.0)	3 (13.0)	4 (14.3)
EX F / GP	18 (17.3)	30 (15.7)	5 (17.9)	5 (17.9)	58 (16.5)	-	2 (8.7)	2 (7.1)
Col. Total	104 (100.0)	191 (100.0)	28 (100.0)	28 (100.0)	351 (100.0)	5 (100.0)	23 (100.0)	28 (100.)

Table 4.15**Means and Standard Deviations Regarding Satisfying Children's curiosity for the Three Family Structure Groups in the US Sample**

CTQ13(N)	(COUNT)	MEAN	SD	MIN	MAX
N F w/n S	(22)	1.07	1.02	0.00	4.00
S+D ST F	(4)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
EX F / GP	(2)	2.50	0.71	2.00	3.00
TOTAL	(28)	1.02	1.07	0.00	4.00

Note. This question was scored in the reversed direction.

One pair of groups between stem families (with son's or daughter's family) and extended families (w/n grandparents/maternal grandparents) significantly different at .05 level.

$f = 4.8500$, * $p < .05$.

4.5 The Impact of Occupation on Parental Attitudes and Expectations toward Childrearing and Filial Piety

It was also hypothesized that the respondents' attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety would be different depending on their occupation. In this study, the respondents' occupations were first divided into eight categories by the author for both the Taiwanese and the US samples. Table 4.16 demonstrated that the biggest group in the Taiwanese sample, 80 out of the 407 respondents, was under the category of staying at home. The second largest occupational group was the self-employed, 60 out of the 407. This included the respondents who owned a business like a restaurant, small company or corporation shared by the family members or other kin. The third largest group, 40 of the 407, was the businessmen or women including clerk, accountant or financier.

For the US sample, the most common occupation, 9 out of the 29, was the professional including engineer, architect, medical doctor, nurse or social worker. Next, only 7 out of the 29 respondents stayed at home as students, homemakers or the unemployed. 5 of the 29 respondents were self-employed. None of the respondents in the United States reported to be a farmer or a blue-collar worker like plumber, cook, taxi or bus driver. In addition, none of these respondents reported to be a government employee including police officer or military soldier in the US sample. Finally, 91 out of the 407 respondents in the Taiwanese sample and 2 of the 29 respondents in the US sample did not answer the question regarding their occupation.

For statistical purposes, the respondents' occupations were further grouped by the author under five categories of *worker*, *business or self-employed*, *government employee*, *at home or retiree*, as well as *professional* (including the teaching or the research) in both samples. Table 4.17 showed that in the Taiwanese sample, although 35.5% of the mothers stayed at home, most of the parents chose to work for business either on their own or under the supervision of others, 40.21% for the father and 33.14% for the mother, respectively. A similar situation was found for the parents in the US sample. 36.36% of the mothers stayed at home and 31.82% of them worked for business in the US sample. For the grandparents in the Taiwanese sample, most of them were either retired or stayed at home, 64.0% for the paternal grandfathers and 86.96% for the maternal grandmothers, respectively. None of the grandmothers reported working under the category of professional, business/self-employed, or government employee. (See Table 4.17 for the respondents' occupation by sex groups in both samples).

The means for the five occupational groups on the Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale were compared using analyses of variance. Table 4.18 showed the means and standard deviations on the Child Training Scale for the five occupational groups of all the respondents, the parents and the grandparents in the Taiwanese sample. The comparisons of means on the CT Scale for the five occupational groups of all the respondents or the parents in the Taiwanese sample were highly significant ($f = 5.74$, $p < .001$ for all the respondents; $f = 4.35$, $p < .01$ for the parents in the Taiwanese sample). For all the respondents in the Taiwanese sample, significant differences were found

between mean scores of the professionals and those of the other two groups, the business/self-employed and the at home/retiree on the CT Scale at the .05 level. For the parents in the Taiwanese sample, significant differences were also found between mean of the professional and those of the other three groups, the business/self-employed, the worker and the at home/retiree on the CT Scale. The comparison of means on the CT Scale for the five occupational groups of the grandparents in the Taiwanese sample was not significant. In addition, Table 4.19 demonstrated the means on the Child Training Scale for the five occupational groups of the grandfathers, fathers, grandmothers and mothers in the Taiwanese sample. Only the comparison of means for the five occupational groups of the mothers on the CT Scale was significant ($f = 4.54, p < .01$). For the mothers in the Taiwanese sample, significant differences were found between mean score of the professional and those of the other two groups, the business/self-employed and the at home/retiree, on the CT Scale. Furthermore, Table 4.20 presented the individual item means on the CT Scale for the five occupational groups in the Taiwanese sample after analyses of variance. Significant differences were found for the five occupational groups in the Taiwanese sample on questions 4 and 5 regarding children's self-expression and various development ($p < .01$; $f = 5.74$ for question 4, $f = 4.46$ for question 5, respectively). Comparisons of means on questions 1, 3, 6, 9, and 13 for the five occupational groups in the Taiwanese sample were also significant with relation to respect for elders, reasoning, independence, self-respect and curiosity ($p < .05$; $f = 2.78$ for question 1, $f = 2.84$ for question 3, $f = 3.10$ for question 6, $f = 2.48$ for question 9 and $f = 2.60$ for question 13, respectively). Most of the significant differences were found

between means of the professional and those of the at home/retiree in the Taiwanese sample. The comparisons of means on the Child Training Scale for the five occupational groups in the US sample were not significant.

Table 4.21 presented the means on individual items of the Filial Piety Scale for the five occupational groups of all the respondents, the grandparents and the parents in the Taiwanese sample. For all the respondents and the grandparents in the Taiwanese sample, differences of means on the FP Scale for the five occupational groups were highly significant ($p < .01$; $f = 3.76$ for all the respondents, $f = 4.16$ for the grandparents, respectively). For all the respondents in the Taiwanese sample, significance was found between mean of the professional and that of the at home/retiree on the FP Scale at the .05 level. For the grandparents in the Taiwanese sample, mean on the FP Scale for the professional was significantly different from those of the other two groups, the worker and the business/self-employed at the .05 level. For the parents in the Taiwanese sample, difference of means on the FP Scale for the five occupational groups was significant ($p < .05$, $f = 2.83$). For this group, means of the professional and that of the at home/retiree was significantly different at the .05 level on the FP Scale. Table 4.22 demonstrated the means on the FP Scale for the five occupational groups of the grandfathers, fathers, grandmothers and mothers in the Taiwanese sample. Only means for the grandmothers or the mothers on the FP Scale were significantly different for the five occupational groups in the Taiwanese sample ($p < .05$; $f = 6.35$ for the grandmothers, $f = 2.71$ for the mothers, respectively). For the mothers in the Taiwanese sample, significant difference of means

on the FP Scale was found between the two groups, the professional and the at home/retiree, at the .05 level. Differences of means on the FP Scale for the five occupational groups of the grandfathers or the fathers in the Taiwanese sample were not significant. However, comparison of means between the professional and the business/self-employed was significant at the .05 level for the grandparents in the Taiwanese sample. In the US sample, differences of means on the FP Scale for the five occupational groups were not significant. Table 4.23 presented the means on the individual items of the FP Scale for the five occupational groups in the Taiwanese sample after analyses of variance. Differences of means on questions 6, 7 and 10 on the Filial Piety Scale for each occupational groups in the Taiwanese sample were significant ($p < .01$, $f = 3.46$ for question 6; $p < .05$, $f = 2.52$ for question 7 and $f = 2.69$ for question 10, respectively). In addition, attitudes toward question 6 of the FP Scale were significantly different at the .05 level between the business/self-employed and the at home/retiree in the Taiwanese sample regarding the succession of a deceased father's principles. Another significant difference was found for means on question 10 of the FP Scale between the professional and the business/self-employed in the Taiwanese sample with relation to the ownership of an adult child's earning. In the US sample, comparisons of means on the individual items of the FP Scale for the five occupational groups were not significant. As a result, the hypothesis that the respondents' attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety would be different regarding their occupation was mostly supported.

Table 4.16**Occupation of the Respondents in both the Taiwanese and the US Samples**

OCCUPATION	TAIWANESE SAMPLE (Percentage)	US SAMPLE (Percentage)
Teaching / Research	18 (4.4%)	2 (6.9%)
Worker	37 (9.1%)	-
Retiree	18 (4.4%)	1 (3.4%)
Business	40 (9.8%)	3 (10.3%)
Government Employee	37 (9.1%)	-
Self-employed	60 (14.7%)	5 (17.2%)
At Home	80 (19.7%)	7 (24.1%)
Professional	26 (6.4%)	9 (31.0%)
Missing	91 (22.4%)	2 (6.9%)
Total	407 (100.0%)	29 (100.0%)

Table 4.17

Occupation of the Respondents for Different Sex Groups in the Both Samples

	Taiwanese Sample (Percentage)					US Sample (Percentage)		
	F	M	GF	GM	Row Total	F	M	Row Total
Work.	19 (19.6)	14 (8.3)	1 (4.0)	3 (13.0)	37 (11.8)	-	-	-
B/S-E	39 (40.2)	56 (33.1)	4 (16.0)	-	99 (31.5)	1 (20.0)	7 (31.8)	8 (29.6)
G E	23 (23.7)	11 (6.5)	3 (12.0)	-	37 (11.8)	-	-	-
A H/R	1 (1.0)	60 (35.5)	16 (64.0)	20 (87.0)	97 (30.9)	-	8 (36.4)	8 (29.6)
Pro.	15 (15.5)	28 (16.6)	1 (4.0)	-	44 (14.0)	4 (80.0)	7 (31.8)	11 (40.7)
Col. Total	97 (100.0)	169 (100.0)	25 (100.0)	23 (100.0)	314 (100.0)	5 (100.0)	22 (100.0)	27 (100.)

Table 4.18

Comparisons of Means and Standard Deviations on the Child Training Scale for the Five Occupational Groups of all the Respondents, Parents and Grandparents in the Taiwanese Sample

OCCUP	ALL CTQMEAN		F+M CTQMEAN		GF+GM CTQMEAN	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Worker	2.11	0.54	2.13	0.52	1.94	0.75
Business/Self-E	2.07	0.47	2.08	0.47	1.88	0.42
Gov. E	1.97	0.47	1.97	0.46	2.04	0.76
At Home/Retiree	2.23	0.54	2.14	0.41	2.37	0.69
Professional	1.80	0.54	1.79	0.54	2.27	-
Total	2.07	0.53	2.04	0.49	2.27	0.68
Probability	*** $p < .001$ $f = 5.7412$		** $p < .01$ $f = 4.3451$		$p > .05$ $f = .8247$	

Note. Two pairs of groups between professional and business/self-employed as well as professional and at home/retiree were significantly different at .05 level for all groups in Taiwan.

Three pairs of groups between professional and business/self-employed, professional and worker as well as professional and at home/retiree were significantly different at .05 level for parents in Taiwan.

No two groups were significantly different for grandparents in Taiwan.

Table 4.19

Comparisons of Means and Standard Deviations on the Child Training Scale for the Five Occupational Groups of the Grandfathers, Fathers, Grandmothers and Mothers in the Taiwanese Sample

OCCUP.	GF CTQMEAN		F CTQMEAN		GM CTQMEAN		M CTQMEAN	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Worker	2.40	-	2.23	0.54	1.79	0.84	2.00	0.47
Bus./Self-E	1.88	0.42	2.12	0.48	-	-	2.05	0.46
Gov. E	2.04	0.76	1.95	0.51	-	-	2.00	0.33
A H/Retiree	2.18	0.69	2.07	-	2.53	0.67	2.14	0.42
Professional	2.27	-	1.95	0.51	-	-	1.70	0.55
Total	2.13	0.62	2.08	0.50	2.43	0.72	2.02	0.47
Probability	$p > .05$ $f = .2190$		$p > .05$ $f = 1.0761$		$p > .05$ $f = 3.0112$		** $p < .01$ $f = 4.5415$	

Note. Two pairs of groups between professional and business/self-employed as well as professional and at home/retiree were significantly different at .05 level for mothers in Taiwan.

Table 4.20

Comparisons of Means on the Individual Questions of the Child Training Scale for the Five Occupational Groups in the Taiwanese Sample

	Worker	Bus. /Self-E	Gov. E	A H /Retiree	Prof.	Mean	F
CTQ1	4.32	4.72	4.61	4.66	4.09	4.56	2.78*
CTQ2	2.13	2.65	2.92	2.57	2.70	2.61	1.79
CTQ3	0.99	0.80	0.64	1.07	0.59	0.86	2.84*
CTQ4	1.09	0.75	0.72	1.26	0.70	0.94	5.74**
CTQ5	1.47	1.14	0.85	1.50	0.84	1.22	4.46**
CTQ6	1.07	0.99	0.85	1.26	0.68	1.02	3.10*
CTQ7	2.96	3.22	2.74	3.25	2.52	3.05	2.31
CTQ8	1.35	1.21	1.21	1.56	0.98	1.30	2.29
CTQ9	1.26	1.11	1.04	1.38	0.77	1.16	2.48*
CTQ10	3.15	3.09	2.99	2.91	2.68	2.97	.74
CTQ11	3.26	3.27	3.23	3.34	3.34	3.30	.06
CTQ12	3.35	3.42	3.47	3.30	3.41	3.38	.17
CTQ13	1.31	1.49	1.26	1.76	1.16	1.48	2.60*
CTQ14	1.07	0.82	0.71	1.16	0.84	0.95	2.16
CTQ15	2.72	2.25	2.28	2.29	1.75	2.25	1.78

Note. Questions 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 13, 14 and 15 were scored in the reversed direction for the Child Training Scale. One pair of groups between business/self-employed and professional was significantly different at .05 level for question 1 of the Child Training Scale. One pair of groups between at home/retiree and professional was significantly different at .05 level for questions 3, 6, as well as 9 of the Child Training Scale. Three pairs of groups between at home/retiree and professional, at home/retiree and government employed as well as at home/retiree and business/self-employed were significantly different at .05 level for question 4 of the Child Training Scale. Two pairs of groups between at home/retiree and professional as well as at home/retiree and government employed were significantly different at .05 level for question 5 of the Child Training Scale. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ for CTQ4.

Table 4.21

Comparisons of Means and Standard Deviations on the Filial Piety Scale for the Five Occupational Groups of all the Respondents, Parents and Grandparents in the Taiwanese Sample

OCCUP.	ALL FPQMEAN		F+M FPQMEAN		GF+GM FPQMEAN	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Worker	2.95	0.48	2.98	0.50	2.70	0.24
Business/Self-E	2.94	0.58	2.95	0.56	2.45	0.76
Gov. E	2.86	0.57	2.82	0.55	3.27	0.76
At Home/Retiree	3.12	0.62	3.05	0.66	3.26	0.54
Professional	2.73	0.65	2.69	0.59	4.50	-
Total	2.96	0.60	2.92	0.59	3.17	0.62
Probability	** $p < .01$ $f = 3.7622$		* $p < .05$ $f = 2.8274$		** $p < .01$ $f = 4.1606$	

Note. One pair of groups between professional and at home/retiree was significantly different at .05 level for all in Taiwan.

One pair of groups between professional and at home/retiree was significantly different at .05 level for parents in Taiwan.

Two pairs of groups between professional and business/self-employed as well as professional and worker were significantly different at .05 level for grandparents in Taiwan.

Table 4.22

Comparisons of Means and Standard Deviations on the Filial Piety Scale for the Five Occupational Groups of the Grandfathers, Fathers, Grandmothers and Mothers in the Taiwanese Sample

OCCUP.	GF FPQMEAN		F FPQMEAN		GM FPQMEAN		M FPQMEAN	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Worker	3.00	-	3.10	0.48	2.60	0.16	2.82	0.50
Bus./Self-E	2.45	0.76	3.05	0.59	-	-	2.89	0.54
Gov. E	3.27	0.76	2.81	0.60	-	-	2.85	0.48
A H/Retiree	3.11	0.52	4.00	-	3.38	0.53	3.04	0.65
Professional	4.50	-	2.86	0.58	-	-	2.60	0.59
Total	3.07	0.67	2.98	0.58	3.28	0.56	2.89	0.60
Probability	$p > .05$ $f = 2.6849$		$p > .05$ $f = 1.8185$		$* p < .05$ $f = 6.3466$		$* p < .05$ $f = 2.7139$	

Note. One pair of groups between professional and business/self-employed was significantly different at .05 level for grandfathers in Taiwan.

One pair of groups between professional and at home/retiree was significantly different at .05 level for mothers in Taiwan.

Table 4.23

Comparisons of Means on the Individual Questions of the Filial Piety Scale for the Five Occupational Groups in the Taiwanese sample

	Worker	Bus. /Self-E	Gov. E	A H /Retiree	Prof.	Mean	F
FPQ1	1.58	1.44	1.80	1.79	1.88	1.67	1.00
FPQ2	3.47	3.96	3.82	3.91	3.58	3.82	.85
FPQ3	2.64	2.66	2.61	2.98	2.50	2.73	1.13
FPQ4	4.74	4.88	4.96	4.93	4.73	4.87	.40
FPQ5	2.36	1.97	2.07	2.08	1.50	2.00	1.80
FPQ6	2.85	2.33	2.23	2.96	2.48	2.59	3.46**
FPQ7	3.11	2.84	2.63	3.29	2.72	2.97	2.52*
FPQ8	3.42	3.29	3.05	3.15	2.67	3.15	1.60
FPQ9	2.51	3.06	2.97	3.20	3.10	3.04	1.55
FPQ10	2.79	2.91	2.46	2.90	2.21	2.74	2.69*

Note. Questions 2, 5, 9 and 10 were scored in the reversed direction for the Filial Piety Scale.

One pair of groups between at home/retiree and business/self-employed was significantly different at .05 level for question 6 of the Filial Piety Scale.

One pair of groups between business/self-employed and professional was significantly different at .05 level for question 10 of the Filial Piety Scale.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

4.6 Religion and Parental Attitudes toward the Child Training Scale or the Filial Piety Scale

It was also hypothesized that the respondents' attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety would be different relating to their religion in the Taiwanese and the US samples. Table 4.24 showed that 198 out of the 407 respondents in the Taiwanese sample chose Buddhism as their religion. At the same time, 51 of the respondents in the Taiwanese sample claimed that they had no religion. 33 of the 407 respondents in the Taiwanese sample believed in folk religion. 15 of them answered both Buddhism and folk religion as their religion. Only 12 of the 407 respondents chose Christianity; and 5 of them answered Catholicism as their religion in the Taiwanese sample. Another 10 of the 407 respondents were not certain about their religion. 76 of the 407 answers were missing in the Taiwanese sample. In the US sample, 11 of the 29 respondents declared that they had no religious belief. 10 of them answered Christianity as their religion. Only 2 respondents in the US sample claimed to be Buddhists. None of the 29 respondents in the United States answered folk religion or Catholicism as their religion. 4 of the 29 answers were missing in the US sample regarding the respondents' religion.

After analyses of variance, differences of attitudes toward the Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale were not significant regarding the eight religious groups of the respondents in both the US and the Taiwanese samples. Later, the eight categories of the respondents' religion were further collected by the author into the three religious groups

for the two samples. In the Taiwanese sample, respondents who believed in Buddhism or folk religion were grouped together as *Buddhism* /+ *folk religion*; and those who had Christianity, Catholicism or the others were gathered into one group as *others*. Table 4.25 suggested that in the Taiwanese sample, those who believed in Buddhism was the biggest group among all four sex groups; and the respondents with no religion was the second largest group among all four sex groups. In the US sample, the respondents who believed in Buddhism, folk religion and the others were grouped together as *Buddhism/others*. Table 4.26 showed that in the US sample, 4 of the 5 fathers and 7 of the 20 mothers answered they had no religion; 1 of the 5 fathers and 9 of the 20 mothers chose Christianity as their religion. In addition, none of the fathers and 4 of the 25 mothers in the US sample answered Buddhism or the others as their religion. In the US sample, differences of the respondents' answers on the survey were not significant. Therefore, the hypothesis that the respondents' attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety would be different relating to their religion was not supported.

Table 4.24**Religion of the Respondents in both the Taiwanese and the US Samples**

Religion	Taiwanese Sample (Percentage)	US Sample (Percentage)
None	51 (12.5%)	11 (37.9%)
Buddhism	198 (48.6%)	2 (6.9%)
Folk Religion	33 (8.1%)	-
Budd. + Folk Religion	15 (3.7%)	-
Christianity	12 (2.9%)	10 (34.5%)
Catholicism	5 (1.2%)	-
Others	7 (1.7%)	1 (3.4%)
Not Certain	10 (2.5%)	1 (3.4%)
Missing	76 (18.7%)	4 (13.8%)
Total	407 (100.0%)	29 (100.0%)

Table 4.25

Religion of the Respondents for the Fathers, Mothers, Grandfathers and Grandmothers in the Taiwanese Sample

Religion	F (%)	M	GF	GM	Row Total
None	19 (19.8%)	23 (12.9%)	5 (17.9%)	4 (15.4%)	51 (15.5%)
B /+ F	64 (66.7%)	139 (77.6%)	21 (75.0%)	20 (76.9%)	244 (74.2%)
Others	13 (13.5%)	17 (9.5%)	2 (7.1%)	2 (7.7%)	34 (10.3%)
Column Total	96 (100.0%)	179 (100.0%)	28 (100.0%)	26 (100.0%)	329 (100.0%)

Table 4.26

Religion of the Taiwanese Fathers and the Taiwanese Mothers in the US Sample

Religion	T F in US (%)	T M in US (%)	Row Total
None	4 (80.0%)	7 (35.0%)	11 (44.0%)
Christianity	1 (20.0%)	9 (45.0%)	10 (40.0%)
Budd. / Others	-	4 (20.0%)	4 (16.0%)
Column Total	5 (100.0%)	20 (100.0%)	25 (100.0%)

4.7 Relationships between Parental Attitudes toward the Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale

Test results showed that relationships between means on the Child Training Scale and means on the Filial Piety Scale were significant for four of the six sample groups (See Table 4.27 for all the correlation coefficients). For the grandfathers or the mothers in the Taiwanese sample, mean of the CT Scale was significantly correlated with mean of the FP Scale, $p < .01$ ($r = .57$ for the grandfathers and $r = .21$ for the mothers, respectively). For the fathers in the Taiwanese sample or the Taiwanese mothers in the US sample, mean on the CT Scale was also significantly correlated with mean on the FP Scale ($p < .05$; $r = .20$ for the fathers in the Taiwanese sample and $r = .46$ for the Taiwanese mothers in the US sample, respectively). Due to the small size of the Taiwanese fathers in the US sample or the grandmothers in the Taiwanese sample, relationships between means on the CT Scale and those on the FP Scale were highly correlated but not significant ($r = .58$ for the Taiwanese fathers in the US sample; and $r = .32$ for the grandmothers in the Taiwanese sample).

Table 4.28 and Table 4.29 presented the correlation coefficients between means on the Filial Piety Scale and those on individual items of the Child Training Scale for the six sample groups. For the grandfathers in the Taiwanese sample, mean on the FP Scale was significantly correlated with questions 4, 11 and 13 of the CT Scale ($p < .05$; $r = .36$, $.43$, and $.39$, respectively). In other words, the more traditional attitudes toward the FP

Scale for the grandfathers in the Taiwanese sample, the more conservative attitudes they had toward children's self-expression, rule-observing and curiosity (See Table 4.28 for the grandfathers in the Taiwanese sample). For the fathers in the Taiwanese sample, mean score on the FP Scale was only significantly correlated with those on question 12 of the CT Scale ($p < .01$, $r = .26$). In the Taiwanese sample, the stronger the fathers' subscription for the FP Scale, the stronger their agreement with having strict discipline for children (See Table 5.28 for the fathers in the Taiwanese sample). For the Taiwanese fathers in the US sample, their attitudes toward question 7 of the CT Scale, was significantly correlated with their attitudes toward the FP Scale ($p < .05$, $r = .92$). Thus, in the US sample, the more traditional the Taiwanese fathers' perception of the FP Scale, the stronger their disagreement with allowing children's self-government for reading (Also see Table 4.28 for the Taiwanese fathers in the US sample).

In addition, for the grandmothers in the Taiwanese sample, mean score on the FP Scale was significantly associated with those on questions 6 and 7 of the CT Scale ($p < .05$, $r = .35$ for question 6; and $p < .01$, $r = .49$ for question 7). In the Taiwanese sample, the more traditional the grandmothers' perception of the FP Scale, the more conventional their attitudes toward cultivating children's independence, self-mastery or self-government for reading (See Table 4.29 for the grandmothers in the Taiwanese sample). For the mothers in the Taiwanese sample, mean score on the FP Scale was significantly correlated with questions 7, 10, 12 and 15 of the CT Scale ($p < .01$, $r = .27$ and $.22$ for questions 7 and 10, respectively; furthermore, $p < .05$, $r = .16$ and $.15$ for questions 12 and 15,

respectively). Therefore, the more traditional perception toward the FP Scale for the mothers in the Taiwanese sample, the more conventional conception they had for applying strict discipline to children or allowing children to be self-governed on reading, exploration or behave themselves (See Table 4.29 for the mothers in the Taiwanese sample). Although mean on the FP Scale and which on the CT Scale was significantly correlated for the Taiwanese mothers in the US sample, their attitudes toward the FP Scale was not significantly associated with those toward any individual item of the CT Scale (See Table 4.29 for the Taiwanese mother in the US sample).

On the other hand, Table 4.30 and Table 4.31 demonstrated the correlation coefficients between means on the Child Training Scale and those on the individual items of the Filial Piety Scale for the six sample groups. For the grandfathers in the Taiwanese sample, their mean score on the CT Scale was significantly correlated with questions 5 and 10 of the FP Scale ($p < .05$; $r = .43$ for question 5 and $r = .38$ for question 10). Therefore, in the Taiwanese sample, the more traditional the grandfathers' attitudes toward the CT Scale, the stronger their agreement with the continuity of a family line as the primary purpose of marriage and against the ownership of adult children for their earning while the parents are alive (See Table 4.30 for the grandfathers in the Taiwanese sample). For the fathers in the Taiwanese sample, their mean score on the CT Scale was significantly associated with those on questions 6 and 8 of the FP Scale ($p < .05$, $r = .21$ for question; $p < .01$, $r = .31$ for question 8). In others words, the more traditional perception of the CT Scale for the fathers in the Taiwanese sample, the more conventional

their attitudes toward children's succession for the deceased father's principles and attitudes as well as toward a husband's persuasion for his wife to listen to his mother if there is a quarrel between them (Also see Table 4.30 for the fathers in the Taiwanese sample). However, for the Taiwanese fathers in the US sample, relationships between mean on the CT Scale and those on the individual item of the FP Scale were not significant.

For the grandmothers in the Taiwanese sample, mean on the CT Scale was significantly correlated with those on questions 1, 4 and 7 of the FP Scale. Taking notice that their attitudes toward the CT Scale was negatively associated with those toward question 4 of the FP Scale ($p < .01$, $r = -.52$). Therefore, in the Taiwanese sample, the more traditional attitudes the grandmothers had toward the CT Scale, the less likely they agreed with the perception of ancestor worship as the primary duty of sons and daughters. In addition, these grandmothers' attitudes toward the CT Scale was positively correlated with those toward questions 1 and 7 of the FP Scale ($p < .05$; $r = .37$ for question 1 and $r = .35$ for question 7, respectively). In other words, the more traditional perception these grandmothers in the Taiwanese sample had on the CT Scale, the stronger they agreed with the conception of no compromise between oneself and the enemy of one's father as well as that children should absolutely obey their parents (See Table 4.31 for the grandmothers in the Taiwanese sample). Similar results were also found for the mothers in the Taiwanese sample. Their mean score on the CT Scale was also negatively correlated with those on question 4 of the FP Scale ($p < .01$, $r = -.24$). In addition, these mothers' mean

score on the CT Scale was positively associated with those on questions 5, 7 and 10 of the FP Scale ($p < .01$; $r = .24$ for question 5, $r = .18$ for question 7 and $r = .29$ for question 10, respectively). Therefore, for these mothers in the Taiwanese sample, the more traditional their attitudes toward the CT Scale, the more conventional their perception toward adult children's primary duty of marriage for continuing the family line, absolute obedience for the parents as well as toward the ownership of adult children's earning while the parents are alive (See Table 4.31 for the mothers in the Taiwanese sample). Furthermore, for the Taiwanese mothers in the US sample, their mean score on the CT Scale was significantly correlated with which on question 5 of the FP Scale ($p < .05$, $r = .48$). The stronger they agreed with the continuity of family line as adult children's primary duty, the more traditional attitudes they had toward the CT Scale for these Taiwanese mothers in the US sample. Generally speaking, most of the relationships between parental attitudes toward the two Scales for the six sample groups were positively correlated. However, some negative correlations between the two Scales were appeared. Significance was found negatively correlated between means on the CT Scale and those on question 4 of the FP Scale for the grandmothers and the mothers in the Taiwanese sample regarding sons' and daughters' primary duty for worshiping ancestor. Further attention toward the relationships between parental attitudes toward childrearing and toward filial piety among Taiwanese families was needed.

Table 4.27

Correlation Coefficients between Mean of the Child Training Scale and Mean of the Filial Piety Scale among All Six Groups

GROUP	<i>r</i>	GROUP	<i>r</i>
T F in US	.5775	T M in US	.4550*
T F	.2007*	T M	.2061*
T GF	.5657**	T GM	.3167

Note. Two-tailed tests of significance were used. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 4.28

Correlation Coefficients between Means of the Filial Piety Scale and Each Item of the Child Training Scale among Grandfathers, Fathers in Taiwan and Taiwanese Fathers in the United States

	T GF FPQMEAN	T F FPQMEAN	T F in US FPQMEAN
CTQMEAN	.5657**	.2007*	.5775
CTQ1	.1244	.1290	.0765
CTQ2 (N)	.3132	-.1773	-.4592
CTQ3 (N)	.3183	.0367	.0118
CTQ4 (N)	.3605*	.1557	.2841
CTQ5 (N)	.3345	.0684	.5241
CTQ6 (N)	.2774	.1249	.5241
CTQ7	.1779	.1780	.9194*
CTQ8 (N)	-.0002	-.0112	.4060
CTQ9 (N)	.2266	.1217	.5998
CTQ10	.3362	.1169	-.0569
CTQ11	.4275*	.1350	.0000
CTQ12	.2217	.2561**	-.0928
CTQ13 (N)	.3879*	-.0852	.2841
CTQ14 (N)	.0959	.0900	.4060
CTQ15 (N)	.2126	.0683	.8430

Note. Two-tailed tests of significance were used. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. Negative items were scored in the reversed direction shown by an (N).

Table 4.29

Correlation Coefficients between Means of the Filial Piety and Each Item of the Child Training Scale among Grandmothers, Mothers in Taiwan and Taiwanese Mothers in the United States

	T GM FPQMEAN	T M FPQMEAN	T M in US FPQMEAN
CTQMEAN	.3197	.2061**	.4550*
CTQ1	-.0076	.1016	.2732
CTQ2 (N)	-.0100	-.0655	.1428
CTQ3 (N)	.1940	.0628	.2061
CTQ4 (N)	.2782	-.0995	.1255
CTQ5 (N)	.0388	.0716	.2449
CTQ6 (N)	.3464*	-.0119	.2786
CTQ7	.4947**	.2670**	.0971
CTQ8 (N)	.1051	.0037	.0278
CTQ9 (N)	.2195	.0908	.3543
CTQ10	.1315	.2234**	.3421
CTQ11	.1692	.0448	.3837
CTQ12	-.1304	.1642*	-.1075
CTQ13 (N)	.2556	.0362	.2706
CTQ14 (N)	.2318	-.0789	.1444
CTQ15 (N)	-.0491	.1513*	.2188

Note. Two-tailed tests of significance were used. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.
Negative items were scored in the reversed direction shown by an (N).

Table 4.30

Correlation Coefficients between Means of the Child Training Scale and Each Item of the Filial Piety Scale among Grandfathers, Fathers in Taiwan and Taiwanese Fathers in the United States

	T GF CTQMEAN	T F CTQMEAN	T F in US CTQMEAN
FPQMEAN	.5657**	.2007*	.5775
FPQ1	.3442	.1865	.6361
FPQ2 (N)	.0416	-.1707	.2602
FPQ3	.1372	.0500	.5761
FPQ4	-.1474	-.1619	.1152
FPQ5 (N)	.4332*	.1496	-.3928
FPQ6	.2137	.2065*	.7730
FPQ7	.3084	.1231	.4840
FPQ8	.3422	.3059**	.7708
FPQ9 (N)	.0324	-.1463	-.7648
FPQ10 (N)	.3784*	.1847	-.4709

Note. Two-tailed tests of significance were used. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. Negative items were scored in the reversed direction indicated by an (N).

Table 4.31

Correlation Coefficients between Means of the Child Training Scale and Each Item of the Filial Piety Scale among Grandmothers, Mothers in Taiwan and Taiwanese Mothers in the United States

	T GM CTQMEAN	T M CTQMEAN	T M in US CTQMEAN
FPQMEAN	.3197	.2061**	.4550*
FPQ1	.3742*	.1143	.3876
FPQ2 (N)	-.0109	.1336	.3373
FPQ3	.1614	.1034	.0661
FPQ4	-.5156**	-.2410**	.1647
FPQ5 (N)	.2928	.2433**	.4823*
FPQ6	.1191	.0438	.2742
FPQ7	.3502*	.1839**	-.2674
FPQ8	.1395	-.0392	.3771
FPQ9 (N)	.1988	-.0151	-.0161
FPQ10 (N)	-.1529	.2857**	.2349

Note. Two-tailed tests of significance were used. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.
Negative items were scored in the reversed direction shown by an (N).

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety between generations among Taiwanese families. A survey was conducted both in Kaohsiung, Taiwan and in Massachusetts, U. S. A. In the previous chapter, results of the survey regarding the two key dependent variables between the two generations for the Taiwanese and the US samples were tested. Relationships between Taiwanese parents' family structure, occupation, education or religion and the two key variables were also examined. In this chapter, results of this study with relation to the literature reviewed are presented. Interpretation of the data regarding parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety under three key dimensions among Taiwanese families are offered. First, parental obligations and rights regarding Chinese childrearing and filial piety are discussed. Second, relationships between generations and spouses within a Taiwanese family concerning childrearing and filial piety are examined. Third, parental love and fear toward childrearing and filial piety are also addressed.

5.1 Obligations and rights

Traditionally, filial piety was served as the primary guide for parents to socialize children in a Chinese society. It was the fulfillment of one's filial obligation earns the ultimate respect for an individual and the great honor for the family and ancestors (Ho, 1981a). By looking after elderly parents and respecting aged relatives, filial piety was also taken as a lifelong responsibility for an individual throughout his or her lifetime (Wu, 1985a). In Taiwan, at children's age five or six, parents begin to emphasize the training of responsibility for the family and obedience to the parents and the elders (Wu, 1968). David Y. H. Wu suggested that the training of responsibility and obedience at an early age enhance adult children's willingness to take the filial obligations for aged parents and conform to various authority figures in a society. Results of this study showed a similar trend in this area.

By using the Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale designed by David Y. F. Ho and his colleague, parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety were examined for both the Taiwanese and the US samples. Take a closer look at the two scales, there are nine out of fifteen questions on the Child Training Scale and six out of ten questions on the Filial Piety Scale requiring children's obligations to parents, elders, family rules or duty. Traditionally, personal rights to have autonomy, self-reliance, freedom or trust for exploration were less valued in a family within Chinese culture. Results of this study indicated that Taiwanese parents in the younger generation were less

likely to value these traditional perceptions of authoritarianism as absolute obligations of children. In addition, data showed that the mothers' attitudes toward filial obligations tended to be significantly less conventional than those of the maternal grandmothers in the Taiwanese sample. Paternal views toward children's obligations remained similar between grandfathers and fathers in the Taiwanese sample. For the Taiwanese mothers in the US sample, the attitudes toward traditional perceptions of filial piety were clearly dissimilar with those of the mothers or the grandmothers in the Taiwanese sample.

For the fathers or the mothers in the Taiwanese sample, the higher their education, the less agreement they had with children's obligations regarding conformity to parental authority. In the Taiwanese sample, those fathers or paternal grandfathers with higher education were less likely to agree with the filial obligation requiring absolute obedience to parents, ancestor worship or family loyalty. For the mothers in the Taiwanese sample, the attitudes of those with a profession were clearly less traditional than those of who stayed at home or retired regarding children's obligations. Relationships between Taiwanese parents' family structure and their attitudes toward children's filial obligations were complex. By using the size of a family as an independent variable in this study, the true structure of a family regarding children's filial obligation were not measured.

5.2 Generations and spouses

In a traditional Chinese society, parental roles were clearly differentiated. At an agricultural or a fishing village, professional knowledge was shared between generations in a family. Even after the division of an extended family, the parents in the top generation continued to hold the ultimate power on making decisions regarding childrearing or filial piety (Chuang, 1981). In a stem family, grandparents, parents and grandchildren lived together in the same household. Physical closeness among family members enabled grandparents to share the responsibility of childrearing and parents to fulfill the obligation of filial piety. However, researchers noticed that in a rotating-eating or a nuclear family, physical separation of the two generations also gave parents of the younger generation more power on decision-making according to childrearing or filial piety (Chuang, 1981; Yuan, 1972). In a united family, although the two generations lived in separated houses, those emotional, social and financial support among family members increased both generations' and spouses' willingness to participate in childrearing and share the responsibility of filial piety.

Traditionally, parental roles on childrearing or filial piety in a Chinese society were designed for guiding relationships between generations. Relationships between spouses in a family were not emphasized. A married woman was supposed to conform to her husband, continue her husband's family line, and rear at least two sons (Chuang, 1972, 1976, 1981). By staying at home, a mother faced daily tasks like childcare, ancestor

worship or interpersonal relations within a family. A father, on the other hand, needed to take responsibility like earn the family's living, honor the family and look after aged parents. By having certain working experience, a father gradually built up a relationship between the generations within a family. Results of this study showed that the mothers with better education tended to had less traditional attitudes toward the Child Training Scale. The fathers with better education were less likely to agree with the traditional perceptions described on the Filial Piety Scale. For the mothers in the Taiwanese sample, profession was a key indicator to predict attitudes toward the two scales. For the fathers in the Taiwanese sample, education was strongly associated with attitudes toward the two scales. In this study, power distribution within a family regarding childrearing and filial piety were better determined by family structure. However, a rotating-eating family or a united family were hard to distinguish from a stem family or a nuclear family in this survey. The recognition of relationships between both generations and spouses under consideration of childrearing and filial piety within Taiwanese families deserves further attention.

5.3 Fear and love

Parental fear and love toward their children and the own parents remains among Taiwanese families across generations. Degrees of acculturation on different generations or spouses in a family reflect mostly on the methods they chose for childrearing or filial

piety. Parental love for their children and hope for a better future at an old age is universal. In Taiwan, throughout various stages of political, social and emotional suppression by different rulers, aggression toward the parents, elders or other authority figures is strongly prohibited. Children's exploration, adventure or curiosity is discouraged (Li, 1970; Wu, 1968; Ho, 1986, 1989). Parental fear for children's and the own parents' physical, emotional or even financial safety stays true across generations, cultures, or religions. As a result of this study, fear of authoritarianism may be fade away among parents in the younger generation. Love between generations and spouses certainly goes beyond measure of any scale.

5.4 Limitations of this study

This study was limited in several areas. First, although several key variables were selected for studying parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety, further research is needed in this area. Relationships between mothers' or fathers' social economic status and their attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety deserves further attention. Other factors like gender differentiation in socialization, primary care of children and the own parents, or relationships between spouses in a family were not included in this study. Due to the limited time and research design, parental harmony and conflict between generations among Taiwanese families regarding childrearing and filial piety was not fully discussed. Further investigation in this area is needed.

Second, this study was also limited by its research design. By using the two attitudinal scales, parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety were measured in a statistically sensitive way. However, due to the limitation of selection, only the twenty-five questions on the two selected scales were tested regarding childrearing and filial piety. More questions in various areas like interpersonal relationships or financial network regarding childrearing and filial piety within a family can be incorporated in the future study. In addition, due to the limitation of measuring instruments, the daily practices of childrearing and filial piety like how grandparents, parents and children support one another to fulfill their obligations of childrearing and filial piety in a family also deserves further attention. More studies using different methods like observation, interview or video-taping to examine childrearing and filial piety among Taiwanese families are needed.

Finally, owing to the limited sample size for grandparents, comparisons of occupation, education, and family structure between paternal grandfathers and fathers as well as maternal grandmothers and mothers among Taiwanese families were not completed in this study. The small size of Taiwanese parents in the US sample reflected only certain degrees of acculturation among selected Taiwanese families. However, by surveying Taiwanese families both in Taiwan and in the United States, this study presented some trends to examine harmony and conflict between generations regarding childrearing and filial piety. Further investigations among families of various Chinese ethnic groups across different cultures will be helpful.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATION

6.1 Summary

In this study, a survey was conducted among Taiwanese families both in Kaohsiung, Taiwan and in Massachusetts, U. S. A. Parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety were examined for both the Taiwanese and the US samples. Attitudes of the maternal grandmothers in the Taiwanese sample toward both the Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale were the most traditional; on the other hand, those of the Taiwanese mothers in the US sample were the least traditional on the two Scales. Results showed a general tendency for parental attitudes to be significantly less traditional toward both scales between the two generations as well as across the Taiwanese and the US samples. A clear trend also showed that maternal attitudes toward the two scales tended to be significantly less conventional from the maternal grandmother to the mothers in the Taiwanese sample and to the Taiwanese mothers in the US sample. The trend for paternal attitudes to be less traditional toward the two scales tended to move much slower among the fathers than that of the mothers in both the Taiwanese and the US samples. Parental attitudes toward the two scales were clearly differentiated between genders. A mother's

occupation was a better indicator than her education to predict the attitudes toward the two scales. Attitudes of a mother staying at home were significantly more traditional than those of a mother working as a professional in the Taiwanese sample. However, a father with higher school education tended to have significantly less conventional attitudes toward the two scales than one with less education in the Taiwanese sample. For the grandparents in the Taiwanese sample, relationships between occupation or education and their attitudes toward the two scales were complex. The grandmothers' attitudes were significantly different toward the Filial Piety Scale according to her occupation. For the grandfathers, the more education they had, the significantly less traditional their attitudes became toward the Filial Piety Scale. Although all the trends were in the predicted directions, one clear exception was indicated in this study. For the grandmothers in the Taiwanese sample, the more school education they had, the significantly more conventional attitudes they had toward the Filial Piety Scale.

In addition, parental attitudes toward the two scales were significantly interrelated for the grandfathers, fathers and mothers in the Taiwanese sample as well as the Taiwanese mothers in the US sample. Relationships between attitudes toward the two scales were similar for the grandmothers and the mothers in the Taiwanese sample. For the maternal grandmothers or the mothers in the Taiwanese sample, those with more traditional perceptions toward the Filial Piety Scale tended to agree more with not allowing children's own choice for reading. On the other hand, for the grandmothers or mothers with more conventional attitudes toward the Child Training Scale, they were less

likely to agree with the concept that ancestor worship is the primary duty of children; but more likely to request for children's absolute obedience to their own parents. In addition, for the mothers in the Taiwanese sample, the more traditional attitudes toward the Filial Piety Scale, the less approval they had for children's self-exploration and more likely to have strict discipline and request proper behavior for children. For the mothers with more conventional attitudes toward the Child Training Scale, more attention was pay to the concept of continuing family line as the primary purpose of marriage as well as not letting adult children to keep their own earning while the parents are alive.

However, for the paternal grandfathers or the fathers in the Taiwanese sample, the associations between attitudes toward the two scales were dissimilar. The more traditional the grandfathers' attitudes toward the Filial Piety Scale, the less agreement they had with satisfying children's self-expression and curiosity meanwhile in favor of children's conformity to rules. For the fathers in the Taiwanese sample, the more conventional attitudes they had toward the Filial Piety Scale, the stronger they agreed with having strict discipline for children. On the other hand, the more traditional the grandfathers' attitudes toward the Child Training Scale, the more emphasis they put on the children's duty of continuing family line and contributing personal earning to the family. For the fathers in the Taiwanese sample, the more conventional attitudes toward the Child Training Scale, the more likely they agreed with the perceptions that children need to conduct themselves according to the deceased father's principle as well as a husband need to persuade his wife to conform to his mother. In addition, for the Taiwanese mothers in the US sample, the

more traditional attitudes toward the Child Training Scale, the stronger consent they had to the perception of continuing family line as the primary purpose of marriage.

6.2 Conclusion

Results of this study showed that parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety are highly interrelated. Filial piety continues to play a key role in parental childtraining among Taiwanese families. Training of conformity to authority figures within a family and a society throughout an individual's lifetime remains critical in Chinese culture. Rearing filial sons and daughters in order to maintain parents' authoritarian positions at old ages are favored among Taiwanese families. Filial obligation is clearly differentiated between genders in a family within Chinese culture. At an early age, sons or daughters are trained to follow the roles of their fathers or mothers. As parents, fathers are expected to honor the family and ancestor; mothers are supposed to continued the husband's family line by rearing filial sons. Only by fulfilling the role as a filial son or a filial daughter to the aged parents ensure an individual's position across generations within a family. The structure of the united families is a compromise between generations and spouses for accomplishing filial and childrearing obligations. Education alone can not promise a parent's, especially a mother's, position in a family or a society. Occupation in a profession provides mothers an opportunity to depart from a traditional role in childreareing and filial piety. In short, social economic status of a parent is a better index

than education or occupation alone to predict attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety. Family structure needs to be defined by a parent's childrearing and filial role in a family rather than the composition of family members to explain relationships between childrearing and filial piety among Taiwanese families. As a result, the following steps were accomplished in this study.

First, empirical data regarding parental attitudes toward the Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale among Taiwanese families was conducted. Second, attitudes toward the two scales between paternal grandfathers and fathers of boys at age six as well as between maternal grandmothers and mothers of six-year-old girls were compared. Third, relationships between parents' education, occupation, family structure or religion and their attitudes toward the two scales were examined. Fourth, associations between parental attitudes toward the Child Training Scale and the Filial Piety Scale were discussed. Fifth, attitudes toward the two scales among Taiwanese fathers of boys at age six and Taiwanese mothers of six-year-old girls in two overseas communities were provided. Sixth, by conducting the survey both in Kaohsiung, Taiwan and in Massachusetts, U. S. A., the different degrees of acculturation regarding attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety among Taiwanese families were also addressed.

6.3 Implication

Due to the limitations of this study, the search for a better design in this area will be continued. Further research with carefully matched sample groups between grandparents and parents will be needed. Relationships between generations and spouses regarding childrearing and filial piety in a family need to be further investigated. Obligations and rights according to parental roles in childrearing and filial piety deserve equal attention. Love across generations rather than fear associating with authoritarianism throughout one's lifetime require further consideration. In addition, family structure defined by childrearing and filial roles instead of the composition of house members across generations and spouses need to be studied. Further research with an index regarding the social economic status of a father or a mother will be needed to examine parental attitudes toward childrearing and filial piety.

APPENDIX A
PARENTAL SURVEY

Dear Parents:

I am a doctoral student majoring in education at University of Massachusetts, Amherst. As a graduate student from Taiwan, I sometimes ponder on the relationships between Chinese culture and changing patterns of parenting. Enclosed please find a parental survey which is part of a research project for my dissertation. The purpose of this project is to examine harmony and conflict between two generations among Taiwanese families both in Taiwan and in the United States. Participation is voluntary. No risk is involved in each participant's completing and submitting this survey. Participants have the rights to withdraw from part or all of this study at any time. The decision to participate or not will in no way be prejudicial to any participant or child. All the information provided in this survey will be strictly confidential. Name, address or any identity of each participant will not be provided under any circumstances. Results of this survey will not be available to any school personnel but will be reviewed by me and the members of this research committee only. This is a nonprofit, independent research study without assistance from any political party or social, religious group.

There is no correct answer for each question or topic in this survey. Please feel free to write down any comment or suggestion in the end of this survey. After completing, please put it into the attached envelope and seal up. Your personal thoughts and information will help ourselves as well as the research community further understand contemporary Taiwanese parents' attitudes and expectations toward childrearing and filial piety both in Taiwan and in the United States. Your informed consent to participate in this study is assumed by your completing the enclosed survey and submitting it to the author. Thank you for your precious time and valuable information. I am looking forward to having you join us in enriching this research project.

Sincerely Yours,

Shan-Lee Liu

PARENTAL SURVEY

I. Parental Attitude Scale

Please mark an "X" on the line to tell us how you feel and what you think about each statement listed below.

Example A:
A quiet child is much more praise-worthy than a talkative one.

strongly disagree		strongly agree
	X	

Example B:
Children should have the freedom of choosing their own friends.

		X	
--	--	---	--

1. In front of elderly people, children should be respectful, act properly, and remain quiet.
2. In teaching children, physical punishment shouldn't be used.
3. When instructing young people, the older generation should not only point out what is right or wrong but also explain the reasons.
4. Although they know relatively little, children should still have the opportunity to express their opinions.
5. A student should develop in various areas and not devote all his time to books.
6. From their early years, children should cultivate the spirit of independence and self-mastery.
7. To prevent wrongful influence, parents can't allow children to choose their own books to read.
8. In teaching children, attention should be paid to cultivating their creativity.
9. when reprimanding children for wrongdoing, the older generation must, nevertheless, avoid hurting their self-respect.
10. Young people don't know much and can't be allowed to do things according to their own ideas.

11. Children who observe rules in the way that adults do are the most praiseworthy.	strongly disagree	strongly agree
12. One must be strict in disciplining children.		
13. When children have something to ask, adults should answer their questions in order to satisfy their curiosity.		
14. One should keep one's promise to children in the way that one would to adults.		
15. On occasion, one may allow that children are noisy and don't sit still, if they are not destructive or disturbing others.		
16. There is no place under the sun for both oneself and the enemy of one's father.		
17. As a son or daughter, one does not necessarily have to respect the people respected by one's parents.		
18. Sons and daughters should not go to faraway places while their parents are still living.		
19. To worship their ancestors on the proper occasions is the primary duty of sons and daughters.		
20. To continue the family line is not the primary purpose of marriage.		
21. After the father has passed away, sons and daughters must conduct themselves according to the principles and attitudes he followed while he was living.		
22. Sons and daughters must obey their parents no matter what.		
23. If there is a quarrel between one's wife and one's mother, the husband should persuade his wife to listen to his mother.		
24. In choosing a spouse, sons and daughters need not follow the parents' command.		

25. After children have grown up, the money they earn through their own labor may belong to themselves, even though their parents are still living. strongly disagree strongly agree
- _____

II. Parental Questionnaire

Please fill out the blank for each question to tell us what you think from your own experience, or what you expect for the future.

- 1.a. I believe children begin to understand what parents say to them at the age of _____.
- b. I believe children begin to know what is right or wrong at the age of _____.
- c. I believe children need to be disciplined at the age of _____.
- 2.a. When my oldest child was under 1 year of age, the average time I spent taking care of him or her was _____.
(For example, whole day everyday, sometimes a day, several times a week, only on weekends, only on holidays, etc. Please specify your schedule at that time.)
- b. When my oldest child was between 1 to 3 years old, the average time I spent taking care of him or her was _____.
- c. When my oldest child was between 3 to 6 years old, the average time I spent taking care of him or her was _____.
- d. When my oldest child was older than 6 years old, the average time I spend for taking care of him or her was _____.
- 3.a. _____ was the most helpful person other than myself to take care of my oldest child before age 1.
- b. _____ was the most helpful person other than myself to take care of my oldest child between age 1 to 3.
- c. _____ was the most helpful person other than myself to take care of my oldest child between age 3 to 6.
- d. _____ was the most helpful person other than myself to take care of my oldest child after age 6.
- 4.a. When my oldest child was under 1 year of age, the common sleeping arrangement for him or her at night was _____.
(For example, with me and/or my spouse in the same bed, with me and/or my spouse in the same room, with his or her siblings in the same bed, with his or her siblings in the same room, sleep separately in his or her own room, etc. Please specify the arrangement at that time.)

- b. When my oldest child was between 1 to 3 years old, the common sleeping arrangement for him or her at night was _____.
 - c. When my oldest child was between 3 to 6 years old, the common sleeping arrangement for him or her at night was _____.
 - d. When my oldest child was over 6 years of age, the common sleeping arrangement for him or her at night was _____.
5. What are the three most important personal characteristics I expect my child to have when he (she) is grown-up.

Rank	The most important personal characteristics when grown up
1	_____
2	_____
3	_____
4	_____
5	_____

6. When my oldest child was 6 years old, at that time, which one of the following choice best describe the family arrangement for taking primary responsibility for my own parents:

1. all of the siblings shared my parents' primary care together.
2. one of the siblings taken the most primary care for my parents.
3. everyone of the siblings taken turns for my parents' primary care.
4. me and my spouse taken the primary care for my parents.
5. my parents live all by themselves independently.
6. my parents live with unmarried siblings alone.
7. other. Please specify the situation for parents' primary care.

7. When my oldest child was 6 years old, how often did I spend time with my own parents for the following items: (Please mark an "x" on the line to express the frequency of your behavior at that time)

- | | | | |
|--|-------|--------------|-------|
| a. taken the primary care of my parents' daily life. | never | all the time | _____ |
| b. please them and make my parents happy. | _____ | | _____ |
| c. keep them company and greet them daily. | _____ | | _____ |
| d. respect their knowledge and experience. | _____ | | _____ |
| e. not to disobey my parents. | _____ | | _____ |

- 8.a. What do I believe are the three most essential elements for me to express filial piety to my own parents:

Rank	The most essential elements of filial piety for my own parents
1	_____
2	_____
3	_____
4	_____
5	_____

- b. What do I believe are the three most essential elements for me to express filial piety to my parents-in-law.

Rank	The most essential elements of filial piety for my parents-in-law
1	_____
2	_____
3	_____
4	_____
5	_____

9. When my oldest child was six years old, what are the three most important things I expect him or her to learn:

Rank	The most important things for a six-year-old child to learn
1	_____
2	_____
3	_____
4	_____
5	_____

- 10.a. What will be my ideal living conditions after I am 60 years old.

* My first ideal living condition after 60:

* My second ideal living condition after 60:

* My third ideal living condition after 60:

- b. At that time, what will I expect the most from my children in the perspective of filial piety.

* The most expected from my own children regarding filial piety:

* The second expected from my own children regarding filial piety:

* The third expected from my own children regarding filial piety:

** Comments: Please feel free to make comments on any of these topics or questions.

III. Background Information

Please check the best described item, or write down the specific answer for each of the following questions:

1. Age: _____ 20 to 24 years old. _____ 35 to 39 years old.
 _____ 25 to 29 years old. _____ 40 to 44 years old.
 _____ 30 to 34 years old. _____ over 45 years old.
2. My current occupation: _____.
 (If you are at home, self-employed, or at other situation, please specify)
3. Education: _____.
 (Please specify the years or degree of your education)
4. Birth Order: _____.
5. Family Members: right now, I live in the same house with _____.
 (Please specify the relationship between each person and you)
6. Marital Status: right now, I am _____
 _____ married. _____ divorced.
 _____ separated. _____ remarried.
 _____ single after spouse passed away. _____ others.
7. Health: right now, my health is _____
 _____ excellent. _____ having chronic disease.
 _____ good under self care. _____ under others' care at home.
 _____ under certain medication. _____ hospitalized.
8. Family Income: _____ under \$20,000 per year
 _____ between \$20,000 - \$39,000 per year
 _____ between \$40,000 - \$59,000 per year
 _____ between \$60,000 - \$79,000 per year
 _____ over \$80,000 per year
9. My Religion: _____.
10. Place of Residence: _____ Town/City
11. Length of My Stay in the United States: _____ Year(s) _____ Month(s)
12. Number of Children: _____ Boy(s) _____ Girl(s)

13. Language: right now, at home I mostly speak
_____ English. _____ Hakka. _____ half English half Chinese.
_____ Chinese. _____ Cantonese. _____ half English half Hokkien.
_____ Hokkien. _____ other language. _____ other situation.

14. Ancestor Worship: right now, I worship my ancestor
_____ everyday. _____ every month. _____ once a year.
_____ several times a week. _____ twice a year. _____ never.

* Please write down any specific stress or event happened to you or your family in the past five years which may affect your answer in this survey.

** Thank you for your time and the precious opinions. Your participation in this survey will help us and the research community understanding more about childrearing and filial piety among Taiwanese families.

APPENDIX B
PARENTAL SERVEY IN CHINESE

親愛的家長：

您好！目前我是就讀於美國麻州大學安赫斯分校的一名博士候選人，主修教育。身為一位從台灣來的研究生，我對於中國文化與改變中的親子關係深感興趣。隨函附上一份問卷調查表。該表是屬於本人博士論文研究內容的一部份。其主要目的是想瞭解在台灣與在美國的台灣家庭兩代之間的衝突與和諧。此項研究調查採取自由參與的方式。填寫此份問卷不會對個人健康、財產、權利或義務產生任何損失。每位參與者有權利於任何時間決定是否全程或部份退出這項問卷調查。您的參加與否不會對您個人或您的子女產生任何偏見或傷害。您提供於問卷上的答案與所有的消息會永遠保持絕對機密。參與者的姓名、住址或任何其它個人資料於任何情況下絕不會公開，以確保個人隱私。此項問卷調查的結果只提供我個人及此論文研究計劃的三位指導教授過目以做為研究之用，並不會轉移或提供其它私人、學校、機關或團體做為其它用途。這是一個非營利的獨立學術研究計劃，並不接受任何政治黨派、社會機構或宗教團體的支助與影響。

這份問卷的每一道題目都沒有標準答案或對錯之別。歡迎寫下任何感想與建議於問卷的背面，以提供我們改進與參考之用。請於填寫完成之後，將問卷放入隨函附上的信封裡並請密封後交回。您個人的看法與資料將使我們及所有研究機構更進一步的瞭解在台灣和在美國的台灣家庭對於教育子女和孝順父母不同的態度與期望。敬請填寫這份問卷調查表。您的同意參與將於您填寫並交回此問卷調查表後完成，而成為這項研究計劃中最重要的一部份。謝謝您寶貴的時間與資料，我們深切的期盼您能加入我們的問卷調查以使這項研究計劃更為豐富。

劉善理 敬上

父 母 問 卷 調 查 表

111055

I 請將您對下列問題的想法和態度，依贊同程度的高低，畫一個"v"，標示於題目右側的線上。

例題 I：

沉默寡言的孩子較喋喋不休的孩子為可取。

極不
贊同

v

極為
贊同

例題 II：

子女應有選擇朋友的自由。

v

1. 在長輩面前，子女應表達尊敬，舉止莊重並保持安靜。
2. 教導子女時，不應該使用體罰。
3. 指導年輕一輩時，年長的一代除了指示對與錯之外，還應該解釋理由。
4. 雖然子女所知極少，仍應該有機會表達他們自己的意見。
5. 學生應朝多方面發展，不應將所有時間貢獻於書本上。
6. 子女應該從小培養獨立自主的精神。
7. 為了避免不良的影響，父母不能允許子女選擇自己的閱讀刊物。
8. 教導子女時，應該專注於培養他們的創造力。
9. 譴責子女做錯事時，年長的一輩應當避免傷害他們的自尊。
10. 年輕人所知不多，因此不能允許他們依照自己的想法做事。
11. 懂得察顏觀色的子女是最值得讚賞的。
12. 管教子女必須嚴格。
13. 當子女有任何疑問時，大人皆應回答以滿足他們的好奇心。
14. 對子女的承諾應如同對待大人般的信守。
15. 只要子女不妨害及打擾他人，有時可以允許他們吵鬧及亂動。
16. 父仇不共戴天。
17. 子女不一定要尊敬父母所敬重的人。
18. 父母在，子女不遠遊。

極不
贊同

極為
贊同

19. 祭祀祖先、慎終追遠是為人子女最基本的責任。
20. 延續香火並不是結婚的主要目的。
21. 為人子女必須承續父親生前的志氣與情操。
22. 子女對父母必須絕對服從。
23. 婆媳之間如有爭吵，丈夫應該說服妻子聽從婆婆。
24. 選擇對象時，子女不須要尊從父母的指定。
25. 縱使父母健在，子女長大後所賺的錢可以歸自己所有。

II 請依據您自己的經驗，將您的想法及期望填入每題的空格處。

1. a. 我相信子女於_____歲時，開始聽懂父母所說的話。
b. 我相信子女於_____歲時，開始能夠分辨對錯。
c. 我相信子女於_____歲時，開始需要處罰。
2. a. 當我最大的子女小於一歲時，平均由我親自照顧的時間是_____。
(例如：整天、一天內幾個小時、一個星期內有幾天、周末或是假日等等，請註明您當時的安排。)
b. 當我最大的子女於一歲到三歲左右，平均由我親自照顧的時間是_____。
c. 當我最大的子女於三歲到六歲左右，平均由我親自照顧的時間是_____。
d. 當我最大的子女於六歲以後，平均由我親自照顧的時間是_____。
3. a. 當我最大的子女小於一歲時，除了我自己以外，_____是最主要幫忙照顧小孩的人。
b. 當我最大的子女於一歲到三歲左右，除了我自己以外，_____是最主要幫忙照顧小孩的人。
c. 當我最大的子女於三歲到六歲左右，除了我自己以外，_____是最主要幫忙照顧小孩的人。
d. 當我最大的子女於六歲以後，除了我自己以外，_____是最主要幫忙照顧小孩的人。
4. a. 當我最大的子女小於一歲時，晚上睡覺時，他(她)大多是_____。
(例如：和我一起睡、和我及丈夫(妻子)一起睡、和我及丈夫(妻子)一起睡在同一房間內、和祖父母一起睡、和兄弟姐妹們一起睡、自己獨自睡自己的房間等等。請註明您當時的安排。)
b. 當我最大的子女於一歲到三歲左右，晚上睡覺時，他(她)大多是_____。
c. 當我最大的子女於三歲到六歲左右，晚上睡覺時，他(她)大多是_____。
d. 當我最大的子女於六歲以後，晚上睡覺時，他(她)大多是_____。

5. 以下依序列舉前三項我最希望自己子女長大成人後所擁有的人格特質。

順序	希望自己子女長大成人後所擁有的人格特質
1)	_____
2)	_____
3)	_____
4)	_____
5)	_____

6. 當我最大的子女六歲時，對於我自己父母的奉養情形是_____。

(例如：由所有兄弟姐妹共同奉養、固定由一位子女奉養、兄弟姐妹輪流奉養、由我及我的配偶一起奉養、父母和我的未婚兄弟姐妹同住、父母自己獨自居住等等。請說明當時父母奉養的情形。)

7. 當我最大的子女六歲時，對於自己的父母，以下的行為我自認做到的程度有多少？
(請依程度差別，畫一個"√"於題右的線上)

	從來不曾	經常如此
a. 照顧父母的生活起居	_____	_____
b. 順從父母，使其身心愉快	_____	_____
c. 陪伴父母，請安奉養	_____	_____
d. 敬重父母的經驗	_____	_____
e. 不違逆父母	_____	_____

8. a. 我認為對自己的父母表達孝心最重要的前幾項是：

順序	如何表達對自己父母的孝心
1)	_____
2)	_____
3)	_____
4)	_____
5)	_____

b. 我認為對自己的岳父、岳母（公公、婆婆）表達孝心最重要的前幾項是：

順序	如何表達對自己岳父、岳母（公公、婆婆）的孝心
1)	_____
2)	_____
3)	_____
4)	_____
5)	_____

9. 當我最大的子女六歲時，我最希望他（她）學的前幾件事是：

順序	最希望六歲的子女所學的事
1)	_____
2)	_____
3)	_____
4)	_____
5)	_____

10. a. 當我六十歲以後，我認為最理想的生活型態是什麼？

* 六十歲以後最理想的生活型態：_____

* 六十歲以後第二理想的生活型態：_____

* 六十歲以後第三理想的生活型態：_____

b. 當我六十歲以後，我最希望子女盡的孝心是什麼？

* 六十歲以後最希望子女盡的孝心：_____

* 六十歲以後第二希望子女盡的孝心：_____

* 六十歲以後第三希望子女盡的孝心：_____

* * 感想與建議：請自由寫下您對任何题目的感想、疑問與建議。謝謝您寶貴的意見。

III 請打"√"選出最適合描述您的答案，或填入適當的資料於題內的空白處。

1. 年齡：_____二十到二十四歲之間 _____三十五到三十九歲之間
_____二十五到二十九歲之間 _____四十到四十四歲之間
_____三十到三十四歲之間 _____四十五歲以上

2. 我現在的職業是_____。

(如果您在家，自營企業或任何其它情形，請詳加註明職業類別與職稱)

3. 教育程度：_____。

(請註明學校類別或修業年限)

4. 我在家中排行_____。

5. 現在家中與我同住的人是_____。

(請註明同住者與您的關係)

6. 婚姻狀況：目前我是

_____ 已婚	_____ 鰥居 (寡居)	_____ 再婚
_____ 分居	_____ 離婚	_____ 其它

7. 健康狀況：目前我的健康情形

_____良好	_____有些慢性疾病
_____尚可	_____在家休養且需他人照料
_____在藥物控制下還好	_____住院治療

8. 家庭總收入：

_____一年二萬元美金以下
_____一年介於二萬到三萬九千元美金之間
_____一年介於四萬到五萬九千元美金之間
_____一年介於六萬到七萬九千元美金之間
_____一年超過八萬元美金以上

9. 我的宗教信仰是_____。

10. 目前我居住於_____城／市。

11. 我居住於美國的時間有_____年_____月。

12. 我的子女數目是_____男_____女。

13. 目前我在家中大部份的時間說

_____英文	_____客家話	_____一半英文、一半國語
_____國語	_____廣東話	_____一半英文、一半台語
_____台語	_____其它語言	_____其它情形

14. 祭祀祖先：目前我在家中祭拜祖先的情形是

_____一日數次	_____每月數次	_____一年一次
_____一星期數次	_____一年二次	_____從來不曾

* 請寫下過去五年內發生於您或您家人的重大事件或特殊經歷。它可能對您個人的身心造成壓力而影響您回答這份問卷調查表的態度與看法。

** 謝謝您寶貴的時間與意見。您的參與將會幫助我們和所有研究教學機構更進一步的瞭解台灣家庭對於教養子女和孝順父母的看法與期許。

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